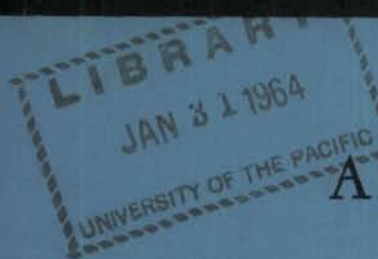


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* * * *Table of Contents* * * *

VOLUME LXIX, NUMBER 2

JANUARY 1964

Presidential Address

MANY MANSIONS, by Crane Brinton	309
---	-----

Articles

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR AS A CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS, by Arthur Bestor	327
THE <i>CARBONARI</i> : THEIR ORIGINS, INITIATION RITES, AND AIMS, by R. John Rath	353
BROOKS ADAMS AND AMERICAN NATIONALISM, by Charles Hirschfeld	371

Notes and Suggestions

CALVINISM AND DEMOCRACY: SOME POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF DEBATES ON FRENCH REFORMED CHURCH GOVERNMENT, 1562-1572, by Robert M. Kingdon	393
---	-----

Reviews of Books

General

Muller, FREEDOM IN THE WESTERN WORLD, by Gerhard Masur	402
Besson and Hiller v. Gaertringen, eds., GESCHICHTE UND GEGENWARTSBEWUSST- SEIN, by Hans W. Gatzke	403
Kacgi, EUROPÄISCHE HORIZONTE IM DENKEN JACOB BURCKHARDT'S, by Carl E. Schorske	405
Arendt, ON REVOLUTION, by Stanley J. Idzerda	406
Allard et al., LA SCIENCE MODERNE (DE 1450 À 1800), by Giorgio de Santillana	407
Feuer, THE SCIENTIFIC INTELLECTUAL, by Melvin Kranzberg	409
Finer, THE MAN ON HORSEBACK, by Gordon A. Craig	410
Fainberg, RUSSKO-IAPONSKIE OTNOSHENIIA V 1697-1875 GG., by George Alex- ander Lensen	411
Russett, COMMUNITY AND CONTENTION, by H. C. Allen	412
Kubek, HOW THE FAR EAST WAS LOST, by Donald G. Gillin	413
Tsou, AMERICA'S FAILURE IN CHINA, 1941-50, by S. Y. Teng	414
Barracough, SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1956-1958, by René Albrecht- Carrié	416

Ancient and Medieval

Goldman et al., EXCAVATIONS AT GÖZLÜ KULE, TARSUS, III, by Joan du Plat Taylor	417
Finley, THE ANCIENT GREEKS; Andreues et al., THE GREEKS, by Mortimer Cham- bers	418
Burn, PERSIA AND THE GREEKS, by Truesdell S. Brown	419
Knowles, THE EVOLUTION OF MEDIEVAL THOUGHT, by Stephan Kuttner	420
Grekow and Artamonow, eds., GESCHICHTE DER KULTUR DER ALTEN RUS', II, by Nikolay Andreyev	422
Antoniadis-Bibicou, RECHERCHES SUR LES DOUANES À BYZANCE, by Paul J. Alexander	423
Bader, DORFGENOSSENSCHAFT UND DORFGEMEINDE, by Bryce Lyon	424
Sheehan, THE WILL IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND, by William Huse Dunham, Jr.	426
Richardson and Sayles, THE GOVERNANCE OF MEDIAEVAL ENGLAND FROM THE 'CONQUEST' TO MAGNA CARTA, by B. Wilkinson	427
Williams, MEDIEVAL LONDON, by Arthur R. Hogue	429
Miskimin, MONEY, PRICES, AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE IN FOURTEENTH-CEN- TURY FRANCE, by John W. Baldwin	431

Modern Europe

<i>Beskovnyi</i> , OTECHESTVENNAIA VOINA 1812 GODA; <i>Stanislavskaiia</i> , RUSSKO-ANGLIISKIE OTNOSHENIIA I PROBLEMY SREDIZEMNOMORIA (1798-1807), by C. M. Foust	432
<i>Woodward</i> , A SHORT HISTORY OF SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND; <i>Aylmer</i> , A SHORT HISTORY OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND; <i>Harris</i> , A SHORT HISTORY OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND; <i>Derry</i> , A SHORT HISTORY OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND; <i>Jurman</i> , A SHORT HISTORY OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY ENGLAND, by John H. Gleason	433
<i>Black</i> , THE ASSOCIATION, by Jacob M. Price	434
<i>Rea</i> , THE ENGLISH PRESS IN POLITICS, 1760-1774, by John E. Pomfret	435
<i>Inglis</i> , CHURCHES AND THE WORKING CLASSES IN VICTORIAN ENGLAND, by David Owen	436
<i>Johnson</i> , GUIZOT, by Peter Amann	438
<i>Daumard</i> , LA BOURGEOISIE PARISIENNE DE 1815 À 1848, by David H. Pinkney	439
<i>Euler</i> , NAPOLEON III. IN SEINER ZEIT, by Eugene N. Anderson	440
<i>Elliott</i> , THE REVOLT OF THE CATALANS, by C. J. Bishko	442
<i>Jutikkala and Pirinen</i> , A HISTORY OF FINLAND, by Erik J. Friis	443
<i>Bühler</i> , VOM BISMARCK-REICH ZUM GETEILTEN DEUTSCHLAND, by Hajo Holborn	444
<i>Kuczyński</i> , STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER ZYKLISCHEN ÜBERPRODUKTIONS-KRISEN IN DEUTSCHLAND, 1918 BIS 1945; STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES STAATSMONOPOLISTISCHEN KAPITALISMUS IN DEUTSCHLAND, 1918 BIS 1945; and STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER LAGE DER ARBEITERIN IN DEUTSCHLAND VON 1700 BIS ZUR GEGENWART, by Alfred G. Pundt	445
<i>Vogelsang</i> , REICHSWEHR, STAAT UND NSDAP, by Willard Allen Fletcher	447
<i>Domarus</i> , HITLER, I, by Reginald H. Phelps	449
<i>Woolf</i> , STUDI SULLA NOBILTÀ PIEMONTESE NELL'EPOCA DELL'ASSOLUTISMO, by Eric Cochrane	450
<i>Pieri</i> , STORIA MILITARE DEL RISORGIMENTO, by Kent Roberts Greenfield	451
<i>Caracciolo</i> , ed., LA FORMAZIONE DELL'ITALIA INDUSTRIALE, by John M. Cammett	452
<i>Siebert</i> , ITALIENS WEG IN DEN ZWEITEN WELTKRIEG, by William C. Askew	454
<i>Riasanovsky</i> , A HISTORY OF RUSSIA, by Hans Rogger	455
VNESHNIAIA POLITIKA ROSSII XIX I NACHALA XX VEKA, 1st ser., VI, by Robert V. Allen	456
<i>Pipes</i> , SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND THE ST. PETERSBURG LABOR MOVEMENT, 1885-1897, by Michael B. Petrovich	457
<i>Radkey</i> , THE SICKLE UNDER THE HAMMER, by George Barr Carson, Jr.	458
<i>Adams</i> , BOLSHIEVICS IN THE UKRAINE, by Basil Dmytryshyn	459
<i>Warrth</i> , SOVIET RUSSIA IN WORLD POLITICS, by Robert V. Daniels	461

Africa

<i>Kimble</i> , A POLITICAL HISTORY OF GHANA, by Henry S. Wilson	462
--	-----

Asia and the East

<i>Sinha</i> , THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BENGAL. II, by Holden Furber	463
<i>Majumdar</i> , HISTORY OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN INDIA, I, by Charles H. Heimsath	465

Americas

<i>Hale</i> , ed., GUIDE TO PHOTOCOPIED HISTORICAL MATERIALS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, by Dewey W. Grantham, Jr.	466
<i>Griffin</i> , THE NATIONAL PERIOD IN THE HISTORY OF THE NEW WORLD, by Dexter Perkins	467
<i>Curti</i> , AMERICAN PHILANTHROPY ABROAD, by K. S. Latourette	468
<i>Strout</i> , THE AMERICAN IMAGE OF THE OLD WORLD, by Carl Bode	469
<i>Powell</i> , PURITAN VILLAGE, by Malcolm Freiberg	470
<i>Smith</i> , JOHN ADAMS, by Lester J. Cappon	471

<i>Butterfield et al.</i> , eds., ADAMS FAMILY CORRESPONDENCE, I and II, by Edmund S. Morgan	473
<i>Chambers</i> , POLITICAL PARTIES IN A NEW NATION, by James Morton Smith	475
<i>Malone</i> , JEFFERSON AND HIS TIME, III, by Raymond Walters, Jr.	476
<i>Merrill</i> , AGAINST WIND AND TIDE, by Russel B. Nye	477
<i>Merk</i> , MANIFEST DESTINY AND MISSION IN AMERICAN HISTORY, by Charles Sellers	479
<i>Cox</i> , POLITICS, PRINCIPLE, AND PREJUDICE, 1865-1866, by Harold M. Hyman	480
<i>Pletcher</i> , THE AWKWARD YEARS, by George F. Howe	481
<i>Keller</i> , THE LIFE INSURANCE ENTERPRISE, 1885-1910, by James H. Soltow	482
<i>Coben</i> , A. MITCHELL PALMER, by David Shannon	483
<i>Preston</i> , ALIENS AND DISSENTERS, by Theodore Saloutos	484
<i>Gelfand</i> , THE INQUIRY, by Richard W. Leopold	485
<i>Morton</i> , STRATEGY AND COMMAND, by Fred Greene	486
<i>Stebbins</i> , THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1962; DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1962, by Julius W. Pratt	487
<i>Healy</i> , THE UNITED STATES IN CUBA, 1898-1902, by Alexander DeConde	489
<i>Greenleaf</i> , ZUMÁRRAGA AND THE MEXICAN INQUISITION, 1536-1543, by Robert S. Chamberlain	490
EL CABILDO METROPOLITANO DE CARACAS Y LA GUERRA DE EMANCIPACIÓN; EPISTOLARIO DE LA PRIMERA REPÚBLICA; TESTIMONIOS DE LA ÉPOCA EMANCIPADORA; Díaz, RECUERDOS SOBRE LA REBELIÓN DE CARACAS; Giménez Silva, LA INDEPENDENCIA DE VENEZUELA ANTE LAS CANCELLETERÍAS EUROPEAS; EL PENSAMIENTO CONSTITUCIONAL HISPANOAMERICANO HASTA 1830, by León Helguera	491

Other Recent Publications

Books

General	494
Ancient and Medieval	496
Modern	
United Kingdom and Ireland	504
Europe	510
Near East	530
Africa	531
Asia and the East	533
Americas	539

Articles and Other Books Received	564
---	-----

Historical News

Historical News	597
Communications	603

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The
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Many Mansions

CRANE BRINTON*

THERE is an anecdote about two Harvard professors of literature of a past generation, John Livingston Lowes and Irving Babbitt. The two were said to have debated at length before some gathering or other, Babbitt insisting on disciplined classic decorum, Lowes defending wild romantic indecorum. Hoping for the last word, Lowes finally said, "Well, Mr. Babbitt, you will at least admit that 'in my father's house are many mansions.'" "Yes," came the instant reply, "but they're not all on the same level." Now this simple tale seems to me to bring out a profound truth about us all, one of course by no means new or unfamiliar, which our generation knows best as ambivalence. Catullus put his feeling for Lesbia with true Latin verbal economy: *odi et amo*. This very human desire to have one's cake and eat it, to be illogically logical, is an uncomfortable fact, and it has often been stated

* Mr. Brinton, McLean Professor of Ancient and Modern History, Harvard University, presented this presidential address at the American Historical Association meeting, the Sheraton Hotel, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 29, 1963.

uncomfortably, as in George Orwell's well-known "Commandment" from *Animal Farm*:

ALL ANIMALS ARE EQUAL
BUT SOME ANIMALS ARE MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS

I am sure that you all are now aware, no doubt uncomfortably so, that this beginning means that once more a presidential address is going to be, not a competent professional job of historical writing, but another sermon, another attempt to persuade many of you that you ought to do what you really don't want to do. But if your Presidents so often preach on these occasions, the fault is yours, or at any rate, that of long tradition in the Association, for you always choose old men as Presidents. Surely it is generally true that the disposition—the compulsion—to preach, indeed to pontificate, grows with age, and in no mere arithmetical progression. It would be nice, but rather more than revolutionary, if you could elect a historian in his thirties, in the first flush of adventurous discovery in historical research.

But let me get on with my sermon. Clio's house is indeed a spacious one, with many different dwelling places, planned and furnished in many different styles. Some are more dignified and comfortable than others, and this is surely as it should be. I propose, of course, to urge that certain rather neglected parts deserve more attention and even that we add some new structures which must of necessity—cultural necessity, artistic necessity—be so modern, so functional, that they will contrast with the fine ripe architectural styles of the rest of the building. Before I do this, however, let me insist that there is indeed a single house, Clio's house, and not another's. To drop the metaphor, though I may have to pick it up again, we historians, in spite of our variety, in spite of our heresies, do share a common thing.

For the historian is bound to display what the ecologist calls species-specific behavior. I should like to illustrate this fact modestly from my own musings on the parochial Harvard anecdote with which I began. First of all, I wondered whether this Lowes-Babbitt debate really did take place; that is, by sheer conditioning I wanted to go to the sources. Babbitt was dead, but Lowes was still alive and in good health when I first heard the story. Lowes assured me when I brought it up during an after-dinner conversation that the tale was wholly apocryphal, a typical invention of some graduate student he thought, and, he added, "I was never fool enough to try to debate with Babbitt."

But there is more. That word "mansion," which the authors of the King James version found in the Vulgate as *mansio*, and in New Testament Greek in a close cognate, means in twentieth-century American usage that

pretentious Victorian forty-room house the town's richest man built at the corner of Main and Elm Streets back in the era of General Grant; the word nowadays has for us intellectuals ironic overtones it did not have in the seventeenth century. At this point I lapsed into fantasy. Jesus or the Evangelist, or both, must have had in the back of their minds, indeed almost certainly used for what we read as "mansion" an Aramaic word charged with Semitic racial memories of nomadic life and the desert, literally "a halting place," even "a camping place." But I have come far from Main and Elm, perhaps too far.

More important, the use Lowes was supposed to have made of this very famous and theologically most important text was surely far from what the Evangelist meant. I feel certain that you will agree that Lowes's appeal for aesthetic pluralism, for the kind of free experimentation consonant with the climate of opinion of the century of Mill and Darwin, was not consonant with the climate of opinion in the early Christian church. In short, all of us as historians have in common at least two things: a disposition to go to the sources and a constant, sometimes nagging, awareness of change as a fact of life, an awareness that can drive us, in a basically sound fear of committing an anachronism, into neglecting not-change, or permanence. Yet what endures is surely at least as "real" as what changes.

There are, however, and there must be, many mansions in Clio's house. Since this little sermon of mine is by no means a fire and brimstone one, since in fact I am trying so hard to be conciliatory that I may seem to some of you to be taking my cue from Dale Carnegie rather than from more orthodox preachers, let me emphasize that the older mansions are indeed roomier, better furnished, and ought to be well cared for. I think right now they are. Committees of this Association from time to time investigate the state of historical writing in this country, and conclude that we historians do not write as well as we should, that what we do write is not read by the general public, that in the academic market place written history in the great tradition is shockingly undervalued. They are fine committees, and they do good work, but their complaints seem to me to need a little countervailing. For it is unsound historically to expect in any field of human endeavor that the striking figures of the past—even of the quite recent past—will be equaled by the average, the run of the mill, of the present. And we historians, even if we are social or once new historians properly descended from James Harvey Robinson, tend to remember the striking figures of the past and forget the rest. Moreover, nostalgia is always with us. My guess is that in the year 2000 our successors will lament the passing of many-volumed history *de longue haleine*, such as Lawrence Gipson once wrote; the total

absence of skilled writers like Samuel Morison and Garrett Mattingly who could make the past live; the dearth of thoughtful and original historians with "ideas"—blessed word—like Becker, Beard, Turner, Webb; perhaps even the lack of provocative—I really mean provoking—historians like those current Elizabethan Britishers whom I need not name.

No, those central mansions, the classic narrative history with its emphasis on politics, the well-built monograph, that still useful antechamber, the Ph.D. thesis, all the varieties of history basically constructed as a chronological sequence, seem to me to need no defense. What I should like to urge upon you here is more attention to the last three of the six varieties of history that the editor, Louis Gottschalk, lists in his contribution to a recent report on historical generalization by a committee of the Social Science Research Council. These he calls comparative history, nomothetic history, and philosophy of history. Let me note in passing that not even this committee, composed wholly of historians who are by no means hidebound conservatives professionally, could bring itself to much enthusiasm for the philosophy of history. Its report is, however, favorable to liaisons—an unfortunate word that sprang to my typewriter no doubt from Freudian depths within my psyche—favorable to closer relations with the social sciences and willing to admit to the canon both comparative and nomothetic history.

I shall not here comment further on this report, beyond urging all of you, above all those of you to whom the mention of the social sciences is as a red rag to the bull, to read it and meditate on it with that fine calm objectivity which is the boast of our profession. Nor shall I, in the rest of this address, which I am tempted to steal from my distinguished colleague and predecessor in this office W. L. Langer and call "Some Further Assignments," work directly with Gottschalk's suggestive analytical terms. They are useful, but as Gottschalk himself insists, no more than "labeling generalizations," not concrete descriptions of actual individual instances. In fact I suspect that all of us have displayed in our work some modicum, if only a trace, of each of his six types, not excluding the philosophy of history.

I should like to use, however, a very simple and unphilosophical polarity, for which I shall first have recourse to two pedantic ten-dollar words, the idiographic and the nomothetic. They are indeed reasonably exact. The pole of the idiographic in historical writing is certainly uninhabited: Sorokin in his earlier career as lecturer in English is said to have described it as the "unique-icist" position. Obviously the absolutely unique could not be described in any language whatever, except perhaps in one wholly made up of proper nouns. But a disposition to hold, for example, that Napoleon was so different from Hitler, that any lumping them together as "aggressors" or

“perturbers” is fundamentally a perversion of “what really happened,” or that to compare the great French Revolution with the great Russian Revolution is essentially to compare the incomparable—this is a disposition common among us, and one that is in no danger of disappearing completely.

Yet in this real world even the most “unique-icist” narrative does, must to possess any meaning for the reader, have at least a touch of the common, the universal, of law in the sense of a uniformity. In literature, the allegory and the parable, Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress*, for instance, as narrative forms clearly flaunt this basically nomothetic purpose. But would anyone seriously maintain that Thucydides’ history of the Peloponnesian War is not also in a sense a history of all wars between organized states? The poles are barren and icy, and in between there is always a blending tolerable to us poor ambivalent creatures. All three of the great mid-nineteenth-century American historians, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman, are obviously far out on the narrative side of an equator between the poles of narration and analysis; yet all make quite explicit statements of general truths that they just as obviously think hold good for situations other than the ones they are immediately describing. Parkman’s belief that the struggle between France and Britain in North America is evidence that Anglo-Saxon freedom under the law, together with a little salutary neglect, prevailed over French absolutism and nagging, inefficient paternalism is one that he surely thought applied in the nineteenth century and indeed would apply in the twentieth. That we cannot quite accept this belief as a uniformity of political science is beside the point. The list of historians who have, perhaps usually implicitly rather than explicitly, made such at bottom nomothetic generalizations is long indeed, from Thucydides through Machiavelli, right down to those colleagues of ours of a recent generation I mentioned earlier. Indeed, what is usually called Turner’s frontier hypothesis or theory belongs, or should belong, as much to sociology as to history.

In spite of this last statement, I do not intend to use this occasion to urge that we historians ought to turn into social scientists. At most of our meetings serious attention is given to the relation between history and the social sciences. Some of us, on the whole, as is to be expected, rather the younger ones, are friendly toward the social sciences, and have themselves learned something about one or more of them; others, on the whole the older ones, can feel rather strongly that we historians ought to separate ourselves sharply from these raw new disciplines, pseudo science and not even *pseudo* art. Judging from the repercussions of the remark made last year by a sociologist at a meeting to discuss history and social studies in elementary and secondary schools—he is alleged, as most of you remember, to have begun his contribu-

tion by saying "we must begin by slaughtering that sacred cow, history"—these hostile feelings are reciprocated. We have here one of those interesting group conflicts among intellectuals over the peck order among their disciplines, which we historians ought to be able to summon the detachment and interest to study in their historical backgrounds, for of course they are not unprecedented. Recall Swift's outraged superiority to the scientists—or were they philosophers?—of Laputa.

For what I really want to urge now is, not that we try to become social scientists ourselves, but first, that we interest ourselves in the kind of problems they have formulated and give these problems the historical dimensions they usually very badly need to be understood effectively; and second, since I have used that word "effectively," that we try to broaden our audience to include that large part of the educated public interested in these problems of human relations. Once more, of course, we already do both these things. Only for economics and political science, however, do we fulfill the first need quite thoroughly. As for the second, though many of us fulfill it admirably, most of us, I think, are held back from attempting what the French call *œuvres de vulgarisation* primarily by a certain scholarly ethos in itself admirable. Parenthetically, since I seem to have got in the rut of tossing off further assignments in all directions, let me say that what I have called a scholarly ethos is one of those shared sentiments which the now almost forgotten Pareto called residues and which, like the whole set of relations between intellectual groups and other groups in a given society, are crying for attention from those who have been trained as historians.

Right now, just to be outrageous, I suggest that we—some of us—take on the task suggested by those horrid words, essayist and publicist. I will not go quite so far in indecency as to use the even more horrid words journalist and columnist. There is in my opinion nowadays a special set of reasons why historians in particular should take on some of this task, which is quite obviously a socially necessary task in any society, and in particular in an advanced open society. It is a task always done, whether those who do it are called prophets, priests, philosophers, philosophes, journalists, psychoanalysts, or even scientists. In this mid-twentieth century, however, a special set of problems demands—and gets, witness Toynbee, or better, the remarkably successful combination of Toynbee, Somervell, and *Time* magazine—treatment in what has to be called historical perspective. To make this clear will demand a brief and unscholarly excursion into the kind of history I am here urging be done carefully, thoroughly, with all our professional resources.

An indeterminate but certainly very great number of human beings, to

judge from the record of the past, have a *need* to feel that they understand the structure and purpose of the universe and their place and prospects in it. That need was, and most certainly still is, for many in Western society satisfied for the last two millennia by a remarkable set of explanations, counselings, and consolations, the Christian religion. There have in that long time span been many attacks from within and without on Christianity, and in particular on its basic dualism of the City of God and the City of Earth, the divine and the human, the supernatural and the natural. Of course for most Christians this dualism has been very satisfactorily, both for the intellect and for the sentiments, reconciled with, indeed converted into, a monism by a means not wholly unlike those necessary ambivalences with which I began this address, and which I do not wish to appear to scorn. But certainly to the painfully logical, as to the Moslems, the doctrine of the Trinity is a way of having your monotheistic cake and eating a polytheistic one.

The basic structure of Christian belief survived, however, not without heresies and schisms, until, roughly, the late seventeenth century when there arose in our society what seems to me clearly to be a new religion, certainly related to, descended from, and by many reconciled with, Christianity. I call this religion simply Enlightenment, with a capital *E*. The more radical among its faithful, and especially the sect known as Marxists or dialectical materialists, claim that they have no religion, and some of us take them at their word. Let me note here only that Enlightenment does have a theory of the structure of the universe, or a cosmology, which is certainly a thorough-going monism—all is Nature, and Nature is all—but also that its ethics are at least as vigorously dualistic as the Christian, but with the good as the natural, and the bad as the unnatural. The Marxists even have that most necessary figure, Satan, in the form of the capitalist; less rigorous Enlightened ones have made the unfortunate attempt to do without a Satan. I must not get too wrapped up in this subject, which some of you I know regard as my King Charles's head. Sufficient to note finally that the Enlightened share a teleological view of man's place in the universe summarized in words like progress and evolution and that again the Marxists with their thoroughly eschatological concept of the classless society come closest to a quite definite surrogate for the Christian heaven—but a heaven to be on this earth, and in a relatively near future. For the less radical Enlightened there may well be no such Marxist utopia in sight, but the Enlightened faith is surely always optimistic about the possibilities of an increasingly happier life for all men on this earth.

In sum, there are in the West a great number, all told in the millions,

and especially numerous among the educated and privileged classes, who cannot, even in its most recent and most subtle theological forms, in the work of a Tillich, for example, accept the basic Christian transcendental world view, cannot accept as real in any sense the Christian City of God, but do expect, long for, sometimes firmly believe in, a City of Earth transformed—usually by the grace of science and reason—into a City of God built of, for, and by human beings, *Homo sapiens*, a primate mammal of the Pleistocene, perhaps even earlier.

Now the great founders of this Enlightenment were subtle minds, and recent work in the history of ideas has quite rightly emphasized that they were not shallow rationalists, that they did not believe in the natural goodness and/or rationality of man, and that they did not expect heaven on earth shortly. Certainly Voltaire, one of the great if not the greatest of the culture heroes (or, my King Charles's head again, *prophets*) of Enlightenment, did not expect it at all. And yet there is always Condorcet, whom even Peter Gay would have trouble turning into a political realist, and who did indeed believe his blissful tenth epoch was just around the corner. Moreover, those who, like Helvetius, Fourier, in a sense even Bentham, did not wholly believe in the natural goodness and/or rationality of the many, and did believe the many to be creatures of passion, prejudice, and habit, in short, irrational, nonetheless held that skilled cultural engineers like themselves could devise ways to bring heaven to earth quite soon. I will be content, however, with this restrained proposition: as the ideas of these thinkers of the Enlightenment seeped down into the heads and hearts of the many, they did create a state of mind, a set of expectations that I shall summarize, badly I fear, as folk rationalism and folk optimism.

In the last two centuries or so, however, a current of opinion, a philosophy, even perhaps as a natural science and therefore of course trustworthy, a psychology, has come to the conclusion that *Homo sapiens* is not only not a fully rational creature, but shows no signs of becoming one in the foreseeable future. The old, the inevitable, the tragic dualism crops up in a new form, or at least in new words. The human mind, it is held, can indeed work rationally, logically, can produce the kind of empirically verifiable propositions we call loosely scientific laws or uniformities. This scientific knowledge can with the cooperation of engineers, businessmen, government agents, and others be used to alter, often to transform our material environment in ways far beyond the dreams of even a Condorcet or an Edward Bellamy. Under certain conditions, by means of this scientific knowledge, supplemented with that subtly different American variation on the French *savoir-faire*, "know-how," some human beings can alter the behavior of

other human beings. Perhaps this kind of knowledge can be used by one human being to alter his own behavior, but here it seems to me that rational conviction cannot do the work of emotional conversion. As yet, at least, reason cannot in our unconscious do the work of grace.

In short, *in this view*, the human mind, even the mind of the scientist, the cultural engineer, the New, Fair, or Square Dealer, is in a by no means fully understood, but certainly limiting and conditioning, relation with an x —indeed a y , z , and n —built into us all. I suppose “will” is a good word for this x , or these n , though there are many others, from “sentiment” and “emotion” to “instinct,” “id,” and “species-specific behavior.” Indeed the very rational David Hume himself put the matter as pithily as anyone has: reason is, and ought to be, the slave of the passions.

All this is by no means new. Some of this realism—or pessimism, or just nonoptimism—about human nature and the possibilities of its perfectibility under any environment is found in all folklore, all mythology. Traces of it survive among the folk even in the United States, and rather more than traces in the part of Vermont I know best where, if we were not talking of Americans, we might talk of peasant pessimism. But the general tone of American world views—excuse this awkward translation from the German, but I have never found a good equivalent term—is strongly optimistic and rationalistic. Most of you must have noted, as I have, among American students the almost universal appeal to the economic motive in the form of *cui bono* as an explanation of all history, and especially as an explanation of the causes of all wars, and even more especially, as an explanation of the break between North and South in 1861. Some of this is due no doubt to youthful cynicism, which goes along with youthful optimism and high ideals (remember, ambivalence of ambivalence, all is ambivalence). But it seems to me that much of it is a result of American eighteenth-century heritage of rationalism: granted a few fundamental Euclidean axioms such as that we all try to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market, much of economics really is a sound, rational body of knowledge, perhaps, alas, the sole scientific one we have about human relations. Hence, in part, I am convinced, our rather touching American reliance on it as a master clue to all human behavior.

Note please that I am here trying very hard to reason about the unreasonable. This is, however, no real paradox, but merely a rather vulgar example of verbal inadequacies. Such an inadequacy too is the assertion, a true one, that it takes an intellectual to be an anti-intellectual. Let us smile slightly at such pseudo paradoxes, and get on. What I wish to bring out of these high and difficult matters is this: however important the non-

rational x in us may be, many, perhaps most, human beings want to feel that they understand rationally the universe and their place in it. Christianity, for all its tortured history of heresies and schisms, supplied and supplies working answers to such questions. So too did and does Enlightenment. But Christianity can find ultimate sanction in a divine source in one sense above, beyond, outside mere history. Enlightenment—and this I have been leading up to no doubt much too wordily—has to explain the cosmic process and man's place in it from within that very process, that is, from and by history. The late V. Gordon Childe, an Enlightened Australian anthropologist and prehistorian, summed it up in a book title: *Man Makes Himself*. Marx-Engels and such contemporary American exponents of "cultural evolution" as Leslie White have taken volumes to explain how man has done this, and how he is getting on with the job. There is today a certain tendency, especially among the literary, to conclude that the job has been badly botched of late.

Poor Clio has thus found herself, no longer just a muse, but a whole pantheon, if not a sexless monistic deity. History is all you need to know—history and of course science and other practical matters. It is indeed a shame that Clio has had thrust upon her this burden, one she cannot possibly bear. And, though some of us are indeed faithful of the religion of the Enlightenment, and though some of us, I think for instance of Harry Elmer Barnes, have helped put this load on our modest muse, we historians have for the most part had little to do directly with making history serve as a cosmology, a teleology, an eschatology. I do not think, however, that we can be acquitted—many of us would not want to be so acquitted—of the charge that we have uncritically accepted the folk optimism and folk rationalism of the last few centuries. Morris Cohen, after all only a philosopher, as one could tell from the title of the book from which I quote, *The Meaning of Human History*, perhaps puts it too strongly when he writes, "Liberal historians have sinned in believing in steady, inevitable progress and minimizing the powers of darkness." Here too we deal with a fine subject for further comparative historical investigation, the problem of the cultural generation. The younger generation of historians, it seems to me, have begun to believe in sin, and in avoiding it.

Still, for the most part we professional historians have gone about our idiographic business in monographs, articles, even textbooks, with no more than limited excursions into comparative or nomothetic historical writing, and with none at all into the philosophy of history. Or rather, when one of us, like Toynbee, himself a good historian by background and training, goes into the philosophy of history, we drum him—and "drum" is the

word for those reviews we gave him—out of our ranks, and when in later life Beard forsakes the innocent American *Vulgar-Marxismus* of his economic interpretation of the Constitution, and takes up with the Hegelian Croce, we frown.

Let me insist that I do not mean to urge we imitate Toynbee, let alone Croce-Hegel. But I do suggest that we ought to recognize that written history has by the very course of history-as-events taken on a new importance, in a sense an altogether new role in Western cultural life. At a minimum, we should seek, as to be fair many of us are now doing, to understand how written history came to have that role, and just how, even though we ourselves did little to help it, indeed merely accepted and reflected it almost unconsciously, written history has played that role; or put another way, that as intellectual historians we pay more attention, especially for the last two centuries, to what the Germans call *Wissenssoziologie*. At a maximum I suggest we try, very tentatively, very professionally, our hands at something close to philosophical history; or put another way, that we try to show the educated public how far history—respectable history, the kind we do—can answer, and how far it cannot answer, that impossible and unavoidable question: *Whither Mankind?* We should bring to both these tasks the very great virtues—may I call them the virtues of the scientific attitude?—we have in the past brought to the perhaps simpler tasks of narrative political, institutional, and economic history.

But let me try to be more concrete, and indicate a few broad lines of possible further assignments. All of them have in common, not a requirement that we abandon our prized objectivity, but a requirement that we accept the limitations on, the qualifications of, such objectivity imposed by that view of the workings of the human mind I have touched upon briefly just now. We can at least try to live with, record, and in a sense understand the inevitable nonsolutions of such pressing problems as are indicated by the contradictions of neutralism and commitment, progress and retrogression, faith and skepticism, absolutism and relativism. This last pair suggests another academic anecdote, this time from Stanford, about a candidate for the Ph.D., one of whose profoundly pluralistic, relativistic, William Jamesian examiners after badgering the candidate a good deal remarked, “Mr. Smith, you *are* an absolutist aren’t you?” “Well, sir,” replied the candidate, “I suppose I am . . . relatively.” And, though it is now fashionable in some quarters to attack historical relativism, it is still true that every man *is* his own historian; it is also true, as Becker himself well knew, that not every man is a good historian. Were I to put the matter this way, every man is his own digester, but not every man has a good digestion, I’m sure

you'd all accept it. We historians can get along very well with this kind of relativism; in fact, we can't get far along without it.

We ought also, I think, to ease up a bit on our reluctance, usually in fact our refusal, to follow what diagnoses we may make with any kind of prognosis. Let me repeat that we ought not to imitate Toynbee in his role of prophet, though there is no reason why we should not from time to time make fairly long-term guesses as to how far and in what directions the human stuff, the human group, are likely to change, or if you prefer, be changed. What I do suggest is that we be willing to accept the role of counselor, that we pronounce ourselves on specific concrete problems within our sphere of competence, as some of our bolder members are already doing. For in its simple form, the dictum that we cannot learn from history is surely nonsense in any partially rational world. If we cannot learn from history, many of us moderns, and certainly the Enlightened, aren't going to learn at all. Of course, this last possibility may not be altogether ruled out. But let me in the rest of this address try to get down to cases.

First, a minor instance from last summer's newspapers. A summer camp in the Ramapos, Leftish, experimental, high-mindedly directed, decided to open a branch in North Carolina. Even in that vale of humility and liberalism, the inhabitants, indignant at tales of the horrid practices of these members of the American Comsomol, rose up, burned the gymnasium, and drove the campers out. Now as a problem worth giving the depth of comparative history to, this one of the extent to which and the conditions under which a given community will permit social experimentation is a most interesting one, and one on which the historian, and not just the historian of modern times, can find a good deal of material. It is also a problem in which a reasonable knowledge of history, even of American history alone, might have helped in decision making. Note that although there were rumors that the camp was racially integrated, this was apparently not so, and the chief motive for the move to North Carolina seems to have been the convenience and the agreeableness of the campsite, and just possibly, for I do not altogether rule out the economic among the variables, its inexpensiveness. I assume then that the director did not primarily seek southern converts to his outrageous views. Surely if he had been able to appreciate what happened to John Humphrey Noyes in Putney, Vermont, to the Mormons at various points in New York State and westward, to various nudist camps in our own time, he would never have left the Ramapos.

On this problem of community toleration of social experimentation history can teach us a perhaps useful patience and a surely useful humility. In front of a pleasant, white clapboarded house in the pleasant village of Can-

terbury, Connecticut, there is a pleasant signboard informing the tourist that here in 1833 Prudence Crandall opened a school for Negro girls. The passing tourist, especially if he is a Yankee, is sure to glow with pride as he reads; he is likely to feel a bit more holier than thou. There is, however, plenty of room on that signboard for what to any historian, in contrast with a public relations man, is an essential further sentence: "The violent actions of her fellow-townsmen, backed by an act of the Connecticut General Assembly, forced Miss Crandall to close her school in the following year."

Second, there is the problem of just what the occupation of lands uninhabited or inhabited only sparsely by technologically inferior peoples does to the culture of the new occupiers. I take it most of us would now agree that the work of Turner is so largely based on the experience of the settlement of the Old Northwest Territory as to be in effect a single case history (how Turner would have hated to hear it called that!). Yet surely with the addition of other case histories, in New France, in New Spain, in Siberia, in South Africa, and elsewhere it should be possible to arrive at some generalizations that might make it easier for us to deal with many contemporary problems in this age of decolonization.

Here we confront what I admit is a major difficulty. Years ago I suggested to one of Turner's most distinguished pupils that his ideas would make a good interpretive lead for a broad human geographic study of the kind I just suggested. "Nonsense," he said, "it's impossible—no one could master adequately more than one such field." I must not here let myself go off too far on a tangent. I think the scholar, as contrasted with the natural scientist, tries too hard to garner every fact possibly relevant to his research, refuses to generalize on less than what he fondly hopes is a complete collection of all possibly relevant facts. (Fond hope indeed: colleagues reviewing his book, even if he takes thirty years to write it, will remind him of the readily available materials he failed to take into account.) Still, the difficulty is a real one, and I do not wish to minimize it. I do not think that collaborative historical writing is quite the answer. To the outsider at least it looks as though collaborative research in the natural sciences works better, but that may be an illusion. At any rate, it should be possible for some of us with the suitable temperament to do a better job than is usually done of synthesizing from the great number of competent monographic studies in existence.

My third instance is right down my own alley. I should like to discuss briefly, and with special emphasis on learning from comparative history, a specific phase of the sociology of revolution, that is, intervention in a country undergoing revolution by *émigrés* from that country, supported by

the government of another country that finds the revolution distasteful, even dangerous, to itself. Perhaps modern history would give an adequate number of cases. They would not be identical, and it would be quite impossible to do anything ambitious in the way of quantification which our policy maker could feed into a computer and get an answer: the intervention will fail; or, the intervention will succeed. But let me go out on what I think is no limb, but a sturdy trunk: if the policy makers who planned the operation that ended so disastrously in the Bay of Pigs had tried to put together materials from the British supported descent of French *émigrés* on the Quiberon Peninsula in 1795, from various European interventions in the early nineteenth century, mostly Metternich inspired, from the Russian intervention in Hungary in 1849—and indeed that in 1956—and from the various interventions in Russia from 1918 on, I think they would have had to conclude that the proposed expedition was a very risky one indeed. They might even have been willing to formulate roughly and in purely common-sense terms some such proposition as this: if a revolution seems to have the support of at least important elements of the population, if it appeals to nationalistic as well as class loyalties, if it is led by determined men, the odds are that the only way to suppress it quickly and surely is for a stronger outside power to go in with adequate military forces and occupy the country. Your policy makers may still want to gamble even against impossible odds; they may not even wish to gamble at all. I have just said, however, that history cannot answer our deepest questions, which are moral questions.

I have time only to mention a fourth problem, a very broad one with all sorts of ramifications, and one very much talked and written about nowadays. It is a problem, or set of problems, hard to put succinctly, but phrases such as “anti-intellectualism,” “alienation of the intellectuals,” the “intellectual classes,” and the like will identify its scope well enough. First of all, some solid careful work on definition is needed, for the term “anti-intellectual” in particular has been so bandied about in all sorts of media as to be of almost no use even in a sermon. Perhaps, however, we may come to agree to differentiate its use to describe a philosophical position on the role of thinking, or of all kinds of symbolic expression, in human life from its use to describe a sociological phenomenon, the attitudes and behavior of—forgive my indecent and un-American concreteness here—factory workers, craftsmen, businessmen, dirt farmers, white-collar workers, domestics, and housewives, from the attitudes and behavior of writers, actors, artists, and people like us here tonight. The sociological kind of anti-intellectualism is more manageable for most of us, and right now I think more important to

study. Richard Hofstadter has recently tried his hand at it, but in my opinion he is not quite clear whether he is using anti-intellectualism in what I call its philosophical sense or in its sociological sense, and, I may add, he seems a bit too surprised and indignant at what he finds. Moreover, though anti-intellectualism in this country makes a perfectly good case history, it needs to be supplemented by case studies of the attitudes and behavior of other groups toward the intellectual classes in other countries, certainly in other major Western countries, and not by any means confined to modern times. I think some American writers and even historians, were they to study the role of intellectuals like themselves in other times and places, might possibly feel a little less martyred than they now do. This would be a good thing for us all, for martyrs are surely bad for a stable society, however essential they are for a revolutionary one. I need hardly insist that the United States appears to be, in spite of journalists and broadcasters, a stable society.

This last is close to the forbidden ground of the philosophy of history. Yet I must confess that I find the Nietzschean and Spenglerian contrast of the warrior type and the priest type interesting and worth sober pursuit. Obviously this is an oversimple dualism for even a quite simple society, let alone for ours. Yet ruling classes, elites (dread word!), would appear to have both elements, to use medieval terms, those who follow the *vita activa* and those who follow the *vita contemplativa*, and the way these elements are blended or separated must be most important for any society. But I must make some effort to conclude these remarks.

I have sought in this address to bring out two major themes, first, that since written history has to deal with everything it can find about the behavior of that complicated creature *Homo sapiens*, there must be an almost infinite variety of historical writing, which we ought to try hard not to order in any kind of peck order, or at least in no harsh and intolerant peck order. I trust this position is not merely sloppy eclecticism, but rather good democratic sense. Second, I have urged that, without ordering them into higher and lower, legitimate and illegitimate kinds of history, we ought to cultivate a bit more than we do the comparative, the nomothetic, and even the philosophical.

How well I have managed the orchestration of these themes I do not know. But I do need a coda, and here it is. We historians in the United States in mid-twentieth century are members of a great and successful democratic society that believes in progress and the possibilities of rational solution for most of the difficulties confronting us. These difficulties are so grave that many of us—recall that I have just used the now cant phrase, “alienation of the intellectuals”—seem to have come to the conclusion that

"something went wrong" recently in history-as-events. I confess that I am still enough in what David Potter in the report on historical generalizations I have previously mentioned calls the "long shadow" of the founders of professional academic history in this country to feel that this "something went wrong" attitude toward a whole civilization is not one a historian should assume, and I trust I have not here tonight assumed it. Yet at the very least, I think, we ought to be explicit in pointing out that some things have always gone wrong, that some problems facing us are, in terms of a lifetime or more, literally insoluble, that no one, not even the Supreme Court, not even a great corps of psychoanalysts freely available, as heaven knows psychoanalysts are not now, inexpensively to every citizen, can ensure that the pursuit of happiness shall be for all the achievement of happiness.

I have so far kept autobiography—always a temptation to the aging—out of this address, but I must bring in a touch of it. Though I tell myself I really have no cosmological views, no need to understand the universe, can take the possibly solvable and even the unsolvable problems as they come, I certainly have my lapses, in one of which I read the late Sir Charles Galton Darwin's *The Next Million Years*. Darwin's own view of "whither mankind" is simple: *Homo sapiens* in his first hundred thousand years or so has shown all he can do; he cannot do better. To do better will take an altogether new species, which will need a million years to evolve. Meanwhile, history will simply be more of the same, war on war, peace on peace, century on century.

This is indeed a bleak view, and one I should not wholly espouse. But I find it more convincing than any utopia, or any antiutopia. I do not think it is a view that is likely to be widely adopted. Clio—I am now restoring her to her old position of muse of history—can offer a kind of consolation, that the bad as well as the good of everyday life is never wholly new and therefore, perhaps, never wholly unbearable. Not even the horrendous prospects of an end of the world which some feel that nuclear physicists, and the rest of us, have made possible are wholly unique. St. John the Evangelist surely had at least as firm a conception of a possible end of the world as has Linus Pauling. I admit that the Evangelist did not fight as hard against such an apocalypse as does the chemist, possibly because, though both have hells, only one has a heaven. To the historian the two situations are indeed very different, but remember that similarity and difference, permanence and change, are not polar opposites, but blending and complementary elements of the structure of our minds, conscious and unconscious, and conceivably, of the universe. Fear, as well as hope, springs eternal in the human breast.

I do not for a moment think that we should repudiate—for we can't repudiate them—the rationalist and optimistic traditions in which we, as Americans, are more particularly brought up. I urge no cult of unreason, but merely the recognition of the stubborn existence of something other than reason, call it unreason if you must, in us all. At this point I may note that in a sense I have been discovering America, battering away at wide-open doors. C. Vann Woodward has only recently written in the *New York Times* for July 28, 1963, that "historians have grown increasingly impatient with all simple and deterministic interpretations, economic determinism included. . . . With help from psychology and sociology they look for complexity rather than simplicity in human motivation. They pursue myth and symbol and the irrational with an interest once reserved for rational economic motives." I think it possible that our colleague, himself well up front, has mistaken the scouts and the *avant-garde* generally for the main body of the troops; which body seems to me still a bit further behind than he infers, still fearful of the irrational, indeed still fearful of psychology as a trap for the unwary. Institutions are so much simpler, or appear to be so, than the men who run them, or if not simpler, at least more concrete, more free from horrid ambivalences.

I should like to take Professor Woodward's point here and indeed the tenor of his whole article, which has the title "Our Past Isn't What It Used to Be," for a final summing up. He, or a *Times* editor, means by this title that historians of our American past nowadays interpret much of that past differently from the way their immediate predecessors interpreted it. With this relativistic and Beckerlike conclusion I most certainly agree. But it seems to me that we are still applying our new insights to the old problems, still asking the old questions. We still want to know why the American Civil War broke out when and as it did. We still shy off the big—fearfully big, I admit—question the sociologist has the courage to ask though often not the historical perspective to answer satisfactorily: when and under what conditions does conflict, instead of being repressed or resolved or transcended, break out into open violence in advanced civilized societies? We still want to trace as a succession, or as a not-succession, the line of Populism-Progressivism-McCarthyism instead of attempting a careful sociological and psychological study in a good sample of societies past and present of the actual role or roles of, and popular attitudes toward, intellectuals in open democratic societies.

And, I fear—forgive this really outrageous suggestion that we have anything at all in common with writers of fiction—we still very much want to find a happy ending or at least a prospect of such. We still resist, not merely the pessimistic view of man born to trouble, but the tragic view of man for-

ever torn between whatever symbols he may use for good and evil. But great is the truth, and it shall prevail? Surely this as historians we must believe. But though from St. Socrates on, men have equated the true and the good, they have not commonly meant by "true" the uniformities discerned by what we know best as the scientific mind. We can hardly afford in this world of ours to hold that "great is the good, and it shall prevail," whether we call the good the pursuit of happiness, or the categorical imperative, or the greatest utility for the greatest number, or, for that matter in our psychoanalytical age, satisfactory personal adjustment. But I am betraying once more my conditioning as a historian, and in the unfashionable form of trying to revive the past. You see, I am really asking that we become Stoics, a little less consecrated than the old Roman Stoics, less resigned, more earthy, but still Stoics. This is, of course, impossible, for not even intellectual history repeats itself. Or does it, perhaps?

The American Civil War as a Constitutional Crisis

ARTHUR BESTOR*

WITHIN the span of a single generation—during the thirty-odd years that began with the annexation of Texas in 1845 and ended with the withdrawal of the last Union troops from the South in 1877—the United States underwent a succession of constitutional crises more severe and menacing than any before or since. From 1845 on, for some fifteen years, a constitutional dispute over the expansion of slavery into the western territories grew increasingly tense until a paralysis of normal constitutional functioning set in. Abruptly, in 1860–1861, this particular constitutional crisis was transformed into another: namely, that of secession. Though the new crisis was intimately linked with the old, its constitutional character was fundamentally different. The question of how the Constitution ought to operate as a piece of working machinery was superseded by the question of whether it might and should be dismantled. A showdown had come, and the four-year convulsion of Civil War ensued. Then, when hostilities ended in 1865, there came not the hoped for dawn of peace, but instead a third great constitutional struggle over Reconstruction, which lasted a dozen years and proved as harsh and divisive as any cold war in history. When the nation finally emerged from three decades of corrosive strife, no observer could miss the profound alterations that its institutions had undergone. Into the prodigious vortex of crisis and war every current of American life had ultimately been drawn.

So all-devouring was the conflict and so momentous its effects, that to characterize it (as I have done) as a series of constitutional crises will seem to many readers an almost irresponsible use of language, a grotesque belittling of the issues. Powerful economic forces, it will be pointed out, were pitted against one another in the struggle. Profound moral perplexities were generated by the existence of slavery, and the attacks upon it had social and psychological repercussions of incredible complexity. The various questions

* Mr. Bestor, professor of history at the University of Washington, presented a version of this paper, May 3, 1963, to a joint session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the American Studies Association in Omaha. He has also incorporated a few passages from a paper read, August 28, 1963, to the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association in San Francisco. Mr. Bestor has examined certain points in the present discussion more fully in a previous article: "State Sovereignty and Slavery: A Reinterpretation of Proslavery Constitutional Doctrine, 1846–1860" (*Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, LIV [Summer 1961]).

at issue penetrated into the arena of politics, shattering established parties and making or breaking the public careers of national and local leaders. Ought so massive a conflict to be discussed in terms of so rarified an abstraction as constitutional theory?

To ask such a question, however, is to mistake the character of constitutional crises in general. When or why or how should they arise if not in a context of social, economic, and ideological upheaval? A constitution, after all, is nothing other than the aggregate of laws, traditions, and understandings—in other words, the complex of institutions and procedures—by which a nation brings to political and legal decision the substantive conflicts engendered by changes in all the varied aspects of its societal life. In normal times, to be sure, routine and recurrent questions of public policy are not thought of as constitutional questions. Alternative policies are discussed in terms of their wisdom or desirability. Conflicts are resolved by the ordinary operation of familiar constitutional machinery. A decision is reached that is essentially a political decision, measuring, in some rough way, the political strength of the forces that are backing or opposing some particular program of action, a program that both sides concede to be constitutionally possible, though not necessarily prudent or desirable.

When controversies begin to cut deep, however, the constitutional legitimacy of a given course of action is likely to be challenged. Questions of policy give place to questions of power; questions of wisdom to questions of legality. Attention shifts to the Constitution itself, for the fate of each particular policy has come to hinge upon the interpretation given to the fundamental law. In debating these constitutional questions, men are not evading the substantive issues. They are facing them in precisely the manner that the situation now requires. A constitutional dispute has been superadded to the controversies already present.

Should the conflict become so intense as to test the adequacy of existing mechanisms to handle it at all, then it mounts to the level of a constitutional crisis. Indeed the capability of producing a constitutional crisis is an ultimate measure of the intensity of the substantive conflicts themselves. If, in the end, the situation explodes into violence, then the catastrophe is necessarily a constitutional one, for its very essence is the failure and the threatened destruction of the constitutional framework itself.

The secession crisis of 1860–1861 was obviously an event of this kind. It was a constitutional catastrophe in the most direct sense, for it resulted in a civil war that destroyed, albeit temporarily, the fabric of the Union.

There is, however, another sense—subtler, but perhaps more significant—in which the American Civil War may be characterized as a constitutional

crisis. To put the matter succinctly, the very form that the conflict finally took was determined by the pre-existing form of the constitutional system. The way the opposing forces were arrayed against each other in war was a consequence of the way the Constitution had operated to array them in peace. Because the Union could be, and frequently had been, viewed as no more than a compact among sovereign states, the dissolution of the compact was a conceivable thing. It was constitutional theorizing, carried on from the very birth of the Republic, which made secession the ultimate recourse of any group that considered its vital interests threatened.

Since the American system was a federal one, secession, when it finally occurred, put the secessionists into immediate possession of fully organized governments, capable of acting as no *ad hoc* insurrectionary regime could possibly have acted. Though sometimes described as a "Rebellion" and sometimes as a "Civil War," the American conflict was, in a strict sense, neither. It was a war between pre-existing political entities. But it was not (to use a third description) a "War between the States," for in war the states did not act severally. Instead, the war was waged between two federations of these states: one the historic Union, the other a Confederacy that, though newly created, was shaped by the same constitutional tradition as its opponent. In short, only the pre-existing structure of the American Constitution can explain the actual configuration even of the war itself.

The *configurative* role that constitutional issues played is the point of crucial importance. When discussed in their own terms and for their own sakes, constitutional questions are admittedly theoretical questions. One may indeed say (borrowing a phrase that even academicians perfidiously employ) that they are academic questions. Only by becoming involved with other (and in a sense more "substantive") issues, do they become highly charged. But when they do become so involved, constitutional questions turn out to be momentous ones, for every theoretical premise draws after it a train of practical consequences. Abstract though constitutional issues may be, they exert a powerful shaping effect upon the course that events will in actuality take. They give a particular direction to forces already at work. They impose upon the conflict as a whole a unique, and an otherwise inexplicable, pattern or configuration.

To speak of a configuration of forces in history is to rule out, as essentially meaningless, many kinds of questions that are popularly supposed to be both answerable and important. In particular, it rules out as futile any effort to decide which one of the various forces at work in a given historical situation was "*the* most important cause" of the events that followed, or "*the* decisive factor" in bringing them about, or "*the* crucial issue" involved. The

reason is simple. The steady operation of a single force, unopposed and uninterrupted, would result in a development so continuous as to be, in the most literal sense, eventless. To produce an event, one force must impinge upon at least one other. The event is the consequence of their interaction. Historical explanation is, of necessity, an explanation of such interactions.

If interaction is the crucial matter, then it is absurd to think of assigning to any factor in history an intrinsic or absolute weight, independent of its context. In the study of history, the context is all-important. Each individual factor derives its significance from the position it occupies in a complex structure of interrelationships. The fundamental historical problem, in short, is not to measure the relative weight of various causal elements, but instead to discover the pattern of their interaction with one another.¹

A cogent illustration of this particular point is afforded by the controversy over slavery, which played so significant a role in the crisis with which this paper deals. Powerful emotions, pro and con, were aroused by the very existence of slavery. Powerful economic interests were involved with the fate of the institution. Nevertheless, differences of opinion, violent though they were, cannot, by themselves, account for the peculiar configuration of events that historically occurred. The forces unleashed by the slavery controversy were essentially indeterminate; that is to say, they could lead to any number of different outcomes, ranging from simple legislative emancipation to bloody servile insurrection. In the British West Indies the former occurred; in Haiti, the latter. In the United States, by contrast with both, events took an exceedingly complicated course. The crisis can be said to have commenced with a fifteen-year dispute not over slavery itself, but over its expansion into the territories. It eventuated in a four-year war that was avowedly fought not over the issue of slavery, but over the question of the legal perpetuity of the Union. The slavery controversy, isolated from all other issues, cannot begin to explain why events followed so complex and devious a course. On the other hand, though other factors must be taken into account in explaining the configuration of events, these other factors, isolated from those connected with slavery, cannot explain why tensions mounted so high as to reach the breaking point of war.

¹ A contrary view is advanced by Sidney Hook: "The validity of the historian's findings will . . . depend upon his ability to discover a method of roughly measuring the relative strength of the various factors present." (Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 54, *Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography* [New York, 1946], 113.) Hook, writing as a philosopher, insists that his criterion is part of the "pattern of inquiry which makes a historical account scientific." (*Ibid.*, 112.) But, as another philosopher, Ernest Nagel, points out, "the natural sciences do not appear to require the imputation of relative importance to the causal variables that occur in their explanations." On the contrary, "if a phenomenon occurs only when certain conditions are realized, all these conditions are equally essential, and no one of them can intelligibly be regarded as more basic than the others." (Ernest Nagel,

No single factor, whatever its nature, can account for the distinctive form that the mid-nineteenth-century American crisis assumed. Several forces converged, producing a unique configuration. Men were debating a variety of issues simultaneously, and their various arguments intertwined. Each conflict tended to intensify the others, and not only to intensify them but also to alter and deflect them in complicated ways. The crisis was born of interaction.

The nature of these various converging conflicts is abundantly clear. They are spread at length upon the historical record. Documents, to be sure, are not always to be taken at face value; there are occasions when it is legitimate to read between the lines. Nevertheless, the documentary record is the foundation upon which historical knowledge rests. It can be explained, but it cannot be explained away, as many writers on the causes of the Civil War attempt to do. Most current myths, indeed, depend on such wholesale dismissals of evidence. Southern apologetics took form as early as 1868 when Alexander H. Stephens unblinkingly asserted that "this whole subject of Slavery, so-called, . . . was, to the Seceding States, but a drop in the ocean compared with . . . other considerations,"² by which he meant considerations of constitutional principle. The dogma of economic determinism can be sustained only by dismissing, as did Charles and Mary Beard in 1927, not merely that part of the record which Stephens rejected but also the part he accepted. Having decided, like Stephens, that "the institution of slavery was not the fundamental issue," the Beards went on to assert that constitutional issues likewise "were minor factors in the grand dispute."³

When the historical record is as vast as the one produced by the mid-nineteenth-century American crisis—when arguments were so wearisomely repeated by such multitudes of men—it is sheer fantasy to assume that the issues discussed were not the real issues. The arguments of the period were public ones, addressed to contemporaries and designed to influence their actions. If these had not touched upon genuine issues, they would hardly have been so often reiterated. Had other lines of argument possessed a more compelling force, they would certainly have been employed.

The only tenable assumption, one that would require an overwhelming mass of contrary evidence to rebut, is that men and women knew perfectly well what they were quarreling about. And what do we find? They argued

"Some Issues in the Logic of Historical Analysis," *Scientific Monthly*, LXXIV [Mar. 1952], 162-69, esp. 167.)

² Alexander H. Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War between the States* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1868-70), I, 542.

³ Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (2 vols., New York, 1927), II, 40, 42.

about economic measures—the tariff, the banking system, and the Homestead Act—for the obvious reason that economic interests of their own were at stake. They argued about slavery because they considered the issues it raised to be vital ones—vital to those who adhered to the ideal of a free society and vital to those who feared to disturb the *status quo*. They argued about the territories because they felt a deep concern for the kind of social order that would grow up there. They argued about the Constitution because they accepted its obligations (whatever they considered them to be) as binding.

These are the data with which the historian must reckon. Four issues were mentioned in the preceding paragraph: the issue of economic policy, the issue of slavery, the issue of the territories, and the issue of constitutional interpretation. At the very least, the historian must take all these into account. Other factors there indubitably were. To trace the interaction of these four, however, will perhaps suffice to reveal the underlying pattern of the crisis and to make clear how one of these factors, the constitutional issue, exerted a configurative effect that cannot possibly be ignored.

Conflicts over economic policy are endemic in modern societies. They formed a recurrent element in nineteenth-century American political conflict. To disregard them would be an even greater folly than to assume that they determined, by themselves, the entire course of events. Between a plantation economy dependent upon the sale of staples to a world market and an economy in which commerce, finance, and manufacturing were rapidly advancing, the points of conflict were numerous, real, and important. At issue were such matters as banks and corporations, tariffs, internal improvements, land grants to railroads, and free homesteads to settlers. In a general way, the line of division on matters of economic policy tended, at mid-century, to coincide with the line of division on the question of slavery. To the extent that it did so (and it did so far less clearly than many economic determinists assume), the economic conflict added its weight to the divisive forces at work in 1860–1861.

More significant, perhaps, was another and different sort of relationship between the persistent economic conflict and the rapidly mounting crisis before the Civil War. To put the matter briefly, the constitutional theories that came to be applied with such disruptive effects to the slavery dispute had been developed, in the first instance, largely in connection with strictly economic issues. Thus the doctrine of strict construction was pitted against the doctrine of loose construction as early as 1791, when Alexander Hamilton originated the proposal for a central bank. And the doctrine of nullification was worked out with ingenious thoroughness in 1832 as a weapon against

the protective tariff. Whatever crises these doctrines precipitated proved to be relatively minor ones so long as the doctrines were applied to purely economic issues. Within this realm, compromise always turned out to be possible. The explosive force of irreconcilable constitutional theories became apparent only when the latter were brought to bear upon the dispute over slavery.

Inherent in the slavery controversy itself (the second factor with which we must reckon) were certain elements that made compromise and accommodation vastly more difficult than in the realm of economic policy. To be sure, slavery itself had its economic aspect. It was, among other things, a labor system. The economic life of many regions rested upon it. The economic interests that would be affected by any tampering with the institution were powerful interests, and they made their influence felt.

Nevertheless, it was the noneconomic aspect of slavery that made the issues it engendered so inflammatory. As Ulrich B. Phillips puts it, "Slavery was instituted not merely to provide control of labor but also as a system of racial adjustment and social order." The word "adjustment" is an obvious euphemism; elsewhere Phillips speaks frankly of "race control." The effort to maintain that control, he maintains, has been "the central theme of Southern history." The factor that has made the South "a land with a unity despite its diversity," Phillips concludes, is "a common resolve indomitably maintained—that it shall be and remain a white man's country."⁴

It was this indomitable resolve—say rather, this imperious demand—that lay at the heart of the slavery controversy, as it lies at the heart of the struggle over civil rights today. To put the matter bluntly, the demand was that of a master race for a completely free hand to deal as it might choose with its own subject population. The word "sovereignty" was constantly on the lips of southern politicians. The concept they were invoking was one that Blackstone had defined as "supreme, irresistible, absolute, uncontrolled authority."⁵ This was the kind of authority that slaveholders exercised over their chattels. What they were insisting on, in the political realm, was that the same species of power should be recognized as belonging to the slaveholding states when dealing with their racial minorities. "State Sovereignty" was, in essence, the slaveowner's authority writ large.

If slavery had been a static system, confined geographically to the areas where the institution was an inheritance from earlier days, then the demand of the slaveholding states for unrestricted, "sovereign" power to deal with

⁴ Ulrich B. Phillips, *The Course of the South to Secession*, ed. E. Merton Coulter (New York, 1939), 152.

⁵ William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (4 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1765-69), I, 49.

it was a demand to which the majority of Americans would probably have reconciled themselves for a long time. In 1861, at any rate, even Lincoln and the Republicans were prepared to support an ironclad guarantee that the Constitution would never be amended in such a way as to interfere with the institution within the slaveholding states. An irrepealable amendment to that effect passed both houses of Congress by the necessary two-thirds vote during the week before Lincoln's inauguration.⁶ The incoming President announced that he had "no objection" to the pending amendment,⁷ and three states (two of them free) actually gave their ratifications in 1861 and 1862.⁸ If the problems created by slavery had actually been, as slaveowners so vehemently maintained, of a sort that the slaveholding states were perfectly capable of handling by themselves, then the security offered by this measure might well have been deemed absolute.

As the historical record shows, however, the proposed amendment never came close to meeting the demands of the proslavery forces. These demands, and the crisis they produced, stemmed directly from the fact that slavery was *not* a static and local institution; it was a prodigiously expanding one. By 1860 the census revealed that more than half the slaves in the nation were held in bondage *outside* the boundaries of the thirteen states that had composed the original Union.⁹ The expansion of slavery meant that hundreds of thousands of slaves were being carried beyond the territorial jurisdictions of the states under whose laws they had originally been held in servitude. Even to reach another slaveholding state, they presumably entered that stream of "Commerce . . . among the several States," which the Constitution gave Congress a power "to regulate."¹⁰ If they were carried to United States territories that had not yet been made states, their presence there raised questions about the source and validity of the law that kept them in bondage.

Territorial expansion, the third factor in our catalogue, was thus a

⁶ Joint Resolution to Amend the Constitution, Mar. 2, 1861, 12 US Statutes at Large 251. It passed the House by a vote of 133 to 65 on February 28, 1861, and the Senate by a vote of 24 to 12 on the night of March 3-4, 1861. Technically, the sitting of March 2, 1861, was still in progress in the Senate, hence the date attached to the joint resolution as officially published. (*Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 sess., 1285, 1403 [Feb. 28, Mar. 2, 1861].)

⁷ First inaugural address, Mar. 4, 1861, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler *et al.* (9 vols., New Brunswick, N. J., 1953-55), IV, 270.

⁸ Ohio on May 13, 1861, Maryland on Jan. 10, 1862, Illinois on Feb. 14, 1862. (Herman V. Ames, *The Proposed Amendments to the Constitution of the United States during the First Century of Its History*, *Annual Report, American Historical Association*, 1896 [2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1897], II, 363.)

⁹ Of the 3,953,760 slaves in the United States in 1860, 2,174,996 were held in the 9 states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas. (US, Ninth Census [1870], Vol. I, *The Statistics of the Population* [Washington, D. C., 1872], 3-8 [a corrected recompilation of previous census figures].)

¹⁰ US Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 8 [clause 3].

crucial element in the pattern of interaction that produced the crisis. The timing of the latter, indeed, indicates clearly the role that expansion played. Slavery had existed in English-speaking America for two centuries without producing any paralyzing convulsion. The institution had been brought to an end in the original states of the East and North by unspectacular exercises of legislative or judicial authority. Federal ordinances barring slavery from the Old Northwest had operated effectually yet inconspicuously since 1787. At many other points federal authority had dealt with slavery, outlawing the foreign slave trade on the one hand and providing for the return of fugitive slaves on the other. Prior to the 1840's constitutional challenges to its authority in these matters had been few and unimportant. Indeed, the one true crisis of the period, that of 1819-1821 over Missouri, was rooted in expansionism, precisely as the later one was to be. The nation was awaking to the fact that slavery had pushed its way northward and westward into the virgin lands of the Louisiana Purchase. Only when limits were drawn for it across the whole national domain did the crisis subside.

Suddenly, in the election of 1844, the question of territorial expansion came to the fore again. Events moved rapidly. Within the space of precisely a decade, between the beginning of 1845 and the end of 1854, four successive annexations added a million and a quarter square miles to the area under undisputed American sovereignty.¹¹ Expansion itself was explosive; its interaction with the smoldering controversy over slavery made the latter issue explosive also.

The annexation of Texas in 1845, the war with Mexico that followed, and the conquests in the Southwest which that war brought about gave to the campaign against slavery a new and unprecedented urgency. Within living memory the plains along the Gulf of Mexico had been inundated by the westward-moving tide of slavery. Alabama and Mississippi, to say nothing of Arkansas and Missouri, furnished startling proof of how quickly and ineradicably the institution could establish itself throughout great new regions. Particularly telling was the example of Texas. There slavery had been carried by American settlers to nominally free soil beyond the boundaries of the United States; yet in the end the area itself was being incorpo-

¹¹ The area of so-called "continental" United States (exclusive of Alaska as well as of Hawaii) is officially put at 3,022,387 square miles. It attained this size in 1854. More than two-fifths of this area, that is, 1,234,381 square miles, is conventionally regarded as having been acquired through the annexation of Texas by joint resolution in 1845, the partition of the Oregon country by agreement with Great Britain in 1846, the cessions from Mexico by the treaty ending the Mexican War in 1848, and the additional territory acquired from the latter country by the Gadsden Purchase of 1853-1854. The conventional reckoning (which disregards all the complex questions created by prior American claims) is given in US Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957: A Statistical Abstract Supplement* (Washington, D. C., 1960), 236.

rated in the Union. To guard against any possible repetition of these developments, antislavery forces reacted to the outbreak of the Mexican War by introducing and supporting the Wilmot Proviso. Originally designed to apply simply to territory that might be acquired from Mexico, it was quickly changed into an all-encompassing prohibition: "That there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any territory on the continent of America which shall hereafter be acquired by or annexed to the United States . . . in any . . . manner whatever."¹² The steadfast refusal of the Senate to accept the proviso did not kill it, for the prospect of continuing expansion kept the doctrine alive and made it the rallying point of antislavery sentiment until the Civil War.

This prospect of continuing expansion is sometimes forgotten by historians who regard the issue of slavery in the territories as somehow bafflingly unreal. Since 1854, it is true, no contiguous territory has actually been added to the "continental" United States. No one in the later 1850's, however, could know that this was to be the historic fact. There were ample reasons to expect otherwise. A strong faction had worked for the annexation of the whole of Mexico in 1848. Filibustering expeditions in the Caribbean and Central America were sporadic from 1849 to 1860. As if to spell out the implications of these moves, the notorious Ostend Manifesto of 1854 had announced (over the signatures of three American envoys, including a future President) that the United States could not "permit Cuba to be Africanized" (in plainer language, could not allow the slaves in Cuba to become free of white domination and control), and had defiantly proclaimed that if Spain should refuse to sell the island, "then, by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain if we possess the power."¹³ This was "higher law" doctrine with a vengeance.

Behind the intransigent refusal of the Republicans in 1860-1861 to accept any sort of compromise on the territorial question lay these all too recent developments. Lincoln's letters during the interval between his election and his inauguration contained pointed allusions to filibustering and to Cuba.¹⁴

¹² This was the form in which the proviso was adopted by the House on February 15, 1847. (*Congressional Globe*, 29 Cong., 2 sess., 424-25 [Feb. 15, 1847].) In its original form, as moved by David Wilmot of Pennsylvania on August 8, 1846, and adopted by the House the same day, it spoke only of "the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico." (*Ibid.*, 29 Cong., 1 sess., 1217 [Aug. 8, 1846].)

¹³ Ostend Manifesto (actually dated at Aix-la-Chapelle), Oct. 18, 1854, *The Ostend Conference, &c.* (*House Executive Documents*, 33 Cong., 2 sess., X, No. 93), 131. Though the Secretary of State, William L. Marcy, was forced by public opinion to repudiate the manifesto, James Buchanan was helped to the presidency in 1857 by the fact that his signature was on it.

¹⁴ *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler *et al.*, IV, 154, 155, 172. It should be noted that Stephen A. Douglas, in his third debate with Lincoln, at Jonesboro, Illinois, on September 15, 1858, declared in forthright language that the doctrine of popular sovereignty ought to apply "when we get Cuba" and "when it becomes necessary to acquire any portion of Mexico or

And his most explicit instructions on policy, written on February 1, 1861, to William H. Seward, soon to take office as his Secretary of State, were adamant against any further extension of slavery in any manner:

I say now, . . . as I have all the while said, that on the territorial question—that is, the question of extending slavery under the national auspices,—I am inflexible. I am for no compromise which *assists* or *permits* the extension of the institution on soil owned by the nation. And any trick by which the nation is to acquire territory, and then allow some local authority to spread slavery over it, is as obnoxious as any other.

The obnoxious “trick” that Lincoln feared was, of course, the acceptance of Stephen A. Douglas’ doctrine of popular sovereignty. The supreme importance that Lincoln attached to the territorial issue was underlined by the final paragraph of his letter, wherein he discussed four other issues on which antislavery feeling ran high: the Fugitive Slave Act, the existence of slavery in the national capital, the domestic slave trade, and the slave code that the territorial legislature of New Mexico had enacted in 1859. Concerning these matters, Lincoln wrote Seward:

As to fugitive slaves, District of Columbia, slave trade among the slave states, and whatever springs of necessity from the fact that the institution is amongst us, I care but little, so that what is done be comely, and not altogether outrageous. Nor do I care much about New-Mexico, if further extension were hedged against.¹⁵

The issues raised by territorial expansion were, however, not merely prospective ones. Expansion was a present fact, and from 1845 onward its problems were immediate ones. Population was moving so rapidly into various parts of the newly acquired West, most spectacularly into California, that the establishment of civil governments within the region could hardly be postponed. Accordingly, within the single decade already delimited (that is, from the beginning of 1845 until the end of 1854), state or territorial forms of government were actually provided for every remaining part of the national domain, except the relatively small enclave known as the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). The result was an actual doubling of the area of the United States within which organized civil governments existed.¹⁶ This process of political creation occurred not only in the new

Canada, or of this continent or the adjoining islands.” (*Ibid.*, III, 115.) The word was “when,” not “if.”

¹⁵ Lincoln to Seward, Feb. 1, 1861, *ibid.*, IV, 183.

¹⁶ At the beginning of 1845 the United States comprised approximately 1,788,000 square miles (exclusive of its claims in the Oregon country). Of this total, 945,000 square miles were within the boundaries of the 26 full-fledged states of the Union; another 329,000 square miles belonged to organized territories; and the remaining 514,000 square miles were without organized civil governments. At the end of 1854 the total area had increased to approximately 3,022,000 square miles, of which 1,542,000 lay within the 31 states that were now members of the Union (Florida, Texas, Iowa, Wisconsin, and California having been admitted during the decade); another 1,410,000 square miles belonged to organized territories; and only 70,000

acquisitions, but it also covered vast areas, previously acquired, that had been left unorganized, notably the northern part of the old Louisiana Purchase. There, in 1854, the new territories of Kansas and Nebraska suddenly appeared on the map. With equal suddenness these new names appeared in the newspapers, connected with ominous events.

The process of territorial organization brought into the very center of the crisis a fourth factor, the last in our original catalogue, namely, the constitutional one. The organization of new territories and the admission of new states were, after all, elements in a constitution-making process. Territorial expansion drastically changed the character of the dispute over slavery by entangling it with the constitutional problem of devising forms of government for the rapidly settling West. Slavery at last became, in the most direct and immediate sense, a constitutional question, and thus a question capable of disrupting the Union. It did so by assuming the form of a question about the power of Congress to legislate for the territories.

This brings us face to face with the central paradox in the pre-Civil War crisis. Slavery was being attacked in places where it did not, in present actuality, exist. The slaves, close to four million of them, were in the states, yet responsible leaders of the antislavery party pledged themselves not to interfere with them there.¹⁷ In the territories, where the prohibition of slavery was being so intransigently demanded and so belligerently resisted, there had never been more than a handful of slaves during the long period of crisis. Consider the bare statistics. The census of 1860, taken just before the final descent into Civil War, showed far fewer than a hundred slaves in all the territories,¹⁸ despite the abrogation of restrictions by the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Dred Scott decision. Especially revealing was the

square miles remained in the unorganized Indian Territory. Boundaries are shown in Charles O. Paullin and John K. Wright, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1932), plates 63A and 63B (for the situation in 1845), plates 63B, 64A, and 64C (for 1854).

¹⁷ In his first inaugural, Lincoln reiterated a statement he had made earlier in his debates with Douglas: "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." (*Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler *et al.*, IV, 263.) The statement was originally made in the debate at Ottawa, Illinois, August 21, 1858. (*Ibid.*, III, 16; see also the discussion of the proposed constitutional amendment of Mar. 2, 1861, above, notes 6-8.)

¹⁸ US, Eighth Census (1860), *Preliminary Report on the Eighth Census, 1860* (Washington, D. C., 1862), 131; confirmed in the final report, *Population of the United States in 1860* (Washington, D. C., 1864), 598-99. Slaves were recorded in only three territories: fifteen in Nebraska, twenty-nine in Utah, and two in Kansas; a total of forty-six. Certain unofficial preliminary reports gave slightly higher figures: ten slaves in Nebraska, twenty-nine in Utah, twenty-four in New Mexico, and none in Kansas; a total of sixty-three. (*American Annual Cyclopaedia, 1861* [New York, 1862], 696.) It should be noted that the census figures for 1860 were tabulated in terms of civil divisions as they existed early in 1861. Thus Kansas was listed as a state, though it was not admitted until January 29, 1861, and statistics were presented for the territories of Colorado, Dakota, and Nevada, though these were organized only in February and March 1861.

situation in Kansas. Though blood had been spilled over the introduction of slavery into that territory, there were actually only 627 colored persons, slave or free, within its boundaries on the eve of its admission to statehood (January 29, 1861). The same situation obtained throughout the West. In 1846, at the time the Wilmot Proviso was introduced, the Union had comprised twenty-eight states. By the outbreak of the Civil War, more than two and a third million persons were to be found in the western areas beyond the boundaries of these older twenty-eight states, yet among them were only 7,687 Negroes, free or slave.¹⁹ There was much truth in the wry observation of a contemporary: "The whole controversy over the Territories . . . related to an imaginary negro in an impossible place."²⁰

The paradox was undeniable, and many historians treat it as evidence of a growing retreat from reality. Thus James G. Randall writes that the "larger phases of the slavery question . . . seemed to recede as the controversies of the fifties developed." In other words, "while the struggle sharpened it also narrowed." The attention of the country was "diverted from the fundamentals of slavery in its moral, economic, and social aspects," and instead "became concentrated upon the collateral problem as to what Congress should do with respect to slavery in the territories." Hence "it was this narrow phase of the slavery question which became, or seemed, central in the succession of political events which actually produced the Civil War." As Randall sees it, the struggle "centered upon a political issue which lent itself to slogan making rather than to political analysis."²¹

Slogan making, to be sure, is an important adjunct of political propaganda, and slogans can easily blind men to the relatively minor character of the tangible interests actually at stake. Nevertheless, a much more profound force was at work, shaping the crisis in this peculiar way. This configurative force was the constitutional system itself. The indirectness of the attack upon slavery, that is to say, the attack upon it in the territories, where

¹⁹ Census figures for the six states admitted from 1846 to 1861, inclusive (Iowa, Wisconsin, California, Minnesota, Oregon, and Kansas), and for the seven organized territories enumerated in the census of 1860 (Colorado, Dakota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Washington) showed an aggregate of 2,305,096 white persons, 7,641 free persons of color, and 46 slaves; making a total (including also "civilized Indians" and "Asiatics") of 2,382,677 persons. (Eighth Census [1860], *Population*, 598-99.) Ironically enough, the aborigines in the Indian Territory held in slavery almost as many Negroes as were to be found, slave or free, in the entire area just specified. (Eighth Census [1860], *Preliminary Report*, 136.) This special tabulation for the Indian Territory (not incorporated in the regular census tables) showed 65,680 Indians, 1,988 white persons, 404 free colored persons, and 7,369 slaves.

²⁰ James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress* (2 vols., Norwich, Conn., 1884), I, 272, quoting an unnamed "representative from the South."

²¹ James G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, 1937), 114-15. In a later work, Randall described the issue of slavery in the territories, when debated by Lincoln and Douglas in 1858, as "a talking point rather than a matter for governmental action, a campaign appeal rather than a guide for legislation." (*Lincoln the President* [4 vols., New York, 1945-55], I, 125.)

it was merely a future possibility, instead of in the states, where the institution existed in force, was the unmistakable consequence of certain structural features of the American Constitution itself.

A centralized national state could have employed a number of different methods of dealing with the question of slavery. Against most of these, the American Constitution interposed a barrier that was both insuperable and respected.²² By blocking every form of frontal attack, it compelled the adoption of a strategy so indirect as to appear on the surface almost timid and equivocal.²³ In effect, the strategy adopted was a strategy of "containment." Lincoln traced it to the founding fathers themselves. They had, he asserted, put into effect a twofold policy with respect to slavery: "restricting it from the new Territories where it had not gone, and legislating to cut off its source by the abrogation of the slave trade." Taken together, these amounted to "putting the seal of legislation against its spread." The second part of their policy was still in effect, but the first, said Lincoln, had been irresponsibly set aside. To restore it was his avowed object:

I believe if we could arrest the spread [of slavery] and place it where Washington, and Jefferson, and Madison placed it, it would be in the course of ultimate extinction, and the public mind would, as for eighty years past, believe that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. The crisis would be past.²⁴

Whether or not slavery could have been brought to an end in this manner is a totally unanswerable question, but it requires no answer. The historical fact is that the defenders of slavery regarded the policy of containment as so dangerous to their interests that they interpreted it as signifying "that a war must be waged against slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States."²⁵ On the other hand, the opponents of slavery took an uncompromising stand in favor of this particular policy because it was the only one that the Constitution appeared to leave open. To retreat from it

²² As I have written elsewhere: "The fact that the controversy of 1846-1860 turned on the extension of slavery to the territories (and, to a lesser extent, on the fugitive-slave law) showed that antislavery leaders, far from flouting the Constitution, were showing it a punctilious respect. Had they been disposed, as their opponents alleged, to ride roughshod over constitutional limitations, they would hardly have bothered with the question of the territories or the question of fugitive slaves." (Arthur Bestor, "State Sovereignty and Slavery," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, LIV [Summer 1961], 127.)

²³ The failure of the Republicans to mount a frontal attack upon slavery in the slaveholding states seemed to the Beards sufficient reason for treating the attack upon slavery as hardly more than a sham battle. Secession, they argued, was the southern planters' "response to the victory of a tariff and homestead party that proposed nothing more dangerous to slavery itself than the mere exclusion of the institution from the territories." (Beard, *Rise of American Civilization*, II, 37, see also 39-40.)

²⁴ First debate with Douglas, Ottawa, Ill., Aug. 21, 1858, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler *et al.*, III, 18 (italics of the original not reproduced here).

²⁵ "Declaration of the Immediate Causes which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union," Dec. 24, 1860, *Journal of the Convention of the People of South Carolina, Held in 1860, 1861 and 1862* (Columbia, S. C., 1862), 465.

would be to accept as inevitable what Lincoln called "the perpetuity and nationalization of slavery."²⁶

To understand the shaping effect of the Constitution upon the crisis, one must take seriously not only the ambiguities that contemporaries discovered in it, but also the features that all alike considered settled. The latter point is often neglected. Where constitutional understandings were clear and unambiguous, responsible leaders on both sides accepted without serious question the limitations imposed by the federal system. The most striking illustration has already been given. Antislavery leaders were willing to have written into the Constitution an absolute and perpetual ban upon congressional interference with slavery inside the slaveholding states. They were willing to do so because, as Lincoln said, they considered "such a provision to now be implied constitutional law," which might without objection be "made express, and irrevocable."²⁷

Equally firm was the constitutional understanding that Congress had full power to suppress the foreign slave trade. On the eve of secession, to be sure, a few fire-eaters proposed a resumption of the importation of slaves. The true index of southern opinion, however, is the fact the Constitution of the Confederate States outlawed the foreign trade in terms far more explicit than any found in the Constitution of the United States.²⁸

Far more surprising, to a modern student, is a third constitutional understanding that somehow held firm throughout the crisis. The Constitution grants Congress an unquestioned power "To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes."²⁹ Employing this power, Congress had outlawed the foreign slave trade in 1808, with the general acquiescence that we have just noted. To anyone familiar with twentieth-century American constitutional law, the commerce clause would seem to furnish an obvious weapon for use against the domestic slave trade as well. Since the 1890's the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce has been directed successively against lotteries, prostitution, child labor, and innumerable other social evils that are observed to propagate themselves through the channels of interstate commerce.

²⁶ *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler *et al.*, III, 18.

²⁷ First inaugural, Mar. 4, 1861, *ibid.*, IV, 270; see also above, notes 6-8.

²⁸ In the US Constitution the only reference to the slave trade is in a provision suspending until 1808 the power of Congress to prohibit "the Migration or Importation" of slaves. (Art. I, Sec. 9 [clause 1].) The power itself derives from the commerce clause (Art. I, Sec. 8 [clause 3]), and Congress is not required to use it. By contrast, the Confederate Constitution not only announced that the foreign slave trade "is hereby forbidden," but also went on to *require* its Congress to pass the necessary enforcement laws. (Constitution of the Confederate States, Art. I, Sec. 9 [clause 1]; text in Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* [2 vols., New York, 1881], I, 657.)

²⁹ US Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 8 [clause 3].

The suppression of the domestic slave trade, moreover, would have struck a far more telling blow at slavery than any that could possibly have been delivered in the territories. Only the unhampered transportation and sale of slaves from the older seaboard regions can account for the creation of the black belt that stretched westward through the new Gulf States. By 1840 there were already as many slaves in Alabama and Mississippi together, as in Virginia. During the twenty years that followed, the number of slaves in the two Gulf States almost doubled, while the number of slaves in Virginia remained almost stationary.³⁰

The migration of slaveholding families with the slaves they already possessed can account for only part of this change. The domestic slave trader was a key figure in the process. His operations, moreover, had the indirect effect of pouring money back into older slaveholding states like Virginia, where slavery as an economic system had seemed, in the days of the Revolution, on the verge of bankruptcy. Furthermore, a direct attack upon the domestic slave trade might well have aroused less emotional resentment than the attack actually made upon the migration of slaveholders to the territories, for the slave trader was a universally reprobated figure, the object not only of antislavery invective but even of southern distrust and aversion.

No serious and sustained effort, however, was ever made to employ against the domestic slave trade the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce. The idea was suggested, to be sure, but it never received significant support from responsible political leaders or from public opinion. No party platform of the entire period, not even the comprehensive, detailed, and defiant one offered by the Liberty party of 1844, contained a clear-cut proposal for using the commerce power to suppress the interstate traffic in slaves. Public opinion seems to have accepted as virtually axiomatic the constitutional principle that Henry Clay (who was, after all, no strict constructionist) phrased as follows in the set of resolutions from which the Compromise of 1850 ultimately grew:

Resolved, That Congress has no power to prohibit or obstruct the trade in slaves between the slaveholding States; but that the admission or exclusion of slaves brought from one into another of them, depends exclusively upon their own particular laws.³¹

³⁰ In 1840 there were 448,743 slaves in Alabama and Mississippi, as against 448,987 in Virginia. In 1860 there were 871,711 slaves in the two Gulf States, as against only 490,865 in Virginia. During the same twenty years there was a net increase of 365,911 in the white population of the two Gulf States, and a net increase of 306,331 in the white population of Virginia. (US, Ninth Census [1870], I, *Population*, 3-8.)

³¹ Last of the eight resolutions introduced in the Senate by Henry Clay, *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., 246 (Jan. 29, 1850). According to Clay himself, the resolution proposed no new legislation, but merely asserted "a truth, established by the highest authority of law in this country." He expected, he said, "one universal acquiescence." (*Ibid.*)

Careful students of constitutional history have long been at pains to point out that the broad interpretation that John Marshall gave to the commerce clause in 1824 in the notable case of *Gibbons v. Ogden*³² represented a strengthening of federal power in only one of its two possible dimensions. The decision upheld the power of Congress to sweep aside every obstruction to the free flow of interstate commerce. Not until the end of the nineteenth century, however, did the commerce power begin to be used extensively for the purpose of regulation in the modern sense, that is to say, restrictive regulation. The concept of a "federal police power," derived from the commerce clause, received its first clear-cut endorsement from the Supreme Court in the *Lottery Case*,³³ decided in 1903. These facts are well known. Few scholars, however, have called attention to the dramatic illustration of the difference between nineteenth- and twentieth-century views of the Constitution that is afforded by the fact that the commerce clause was never seriously invoked in connection with the slavery dispute. This same fact illustrates another point as well: how averse to innovation in constitutional matters the antislavery forces actually were, despite allegations to the contrary by their opponents.

Various other constitutional understandings weathered the crisis without particular difficulty, but to catalogue them is needless. The essential point has been made. The clearly stated provisions of the Constitution were accepted as binding. So also were at least two constitutional principles that rested upon no specific written text, but were firmly ingrained in public opinion: the plenary authority of the slaveholding states over the institution within their boundaries and the immunity of the domestic slave trade to federal interference.

In the Constitution as it stood, however, there were certain ambiguities and certain gaps. These pricked out, as on a geological map, the fault line along which earthquakes were likely to occur, should internal stresses build up to the danger point.

Several such points clustered about the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution.³⁴ Clear enough was the principle that slaves might not secure their freedom by absconding into the free states. Three vital questions, however, were left without a clear answer. In the first place, did responsibility for returning the slaves to their masters rest with the states or the federal government? As early as 1842, the Supreme Court, in a divided opinion, placed responsibility upon the latter.³⁵ This decision brought to the fore a second

³² 9 Wheaton 1 (1824).

³³ *Champion v. Ames*, 188 US Reports 321 (1903).

³⁴ US Constitution, Art. IV, Sec. 2 [clause 3].

³⁵ *Prigg v. Pennsylvania*, 16 Peters 539 (1842).

question. How far might the free states go in refusing cooperation and even impeding the process of rendition? The so-called "personal liberty laws" of various northern states probed this particular constitutional question. Even South Carolina, originator of the doctrine of nullification, saw no inconsistency in its wrathful denunciation of these enactments, "which either nullify the Acts of Congress or render useless any attempt to execute them."³⁶ A third question arose in connection with the measures adopted by Congress to carry out the constitutional provision, notably the revised Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Were the methods of enforcement prescribed by federal statute consistent with the procedural guarantees and underlying spirit of the Bill of Rights? From the twentieth-century viewpoint, this was perhaps the most profound of all the constitutional issues raised by the slavery dispute. It amounted to a direct confrontation between the philosophy of freedom and the incompatible philosophy of slavery. Important and disturbing though the issues were, the mandate of the fugitive slave clause was sufficiently clear and direct to restrain all but the most extreme leaders from outright repudiation of it.³⁷

Of all the ambiguities in the written Constitution, therefore, the most portentous proved in fact to be the ones that lurked in the clause dealing with territory: "The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States."³⁸ At first glance the provision seems clear enough, but questions were possible about its meaning. Eventually they were raised, and when raised they turned out to have so direct a bearing upon the problem of slavery that they would not down. What did the Constitution mean by mingling both "Territory" and "other Property," and speaking first of the power "to dispose of" such property? Was Congress in reality given a power to govern, or merely a proprietor's right to make regulations for the orderly management of the real estate he expected eventually to sell? If it were a power to govern, did it extend to all the subjects on which a full-fledged state was authorized to legislate? Did it therefore endow Congress with

³⁶ South Carolina, "Declaration," Dec. 24, 1860, *Journal of the Convention*, 464.

³⁷ In 1844, to be sure, the Liberty party solemnly repudiated this specific obligation: "We hereby give it to be distinctly understood, by this nation and the world, that, as abolitionists, . . . we owe it to the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, as a proof of our allegiance to Him, in all our civil relations and offices, whether as private citizens, or as public functionaries sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, to regard and to treat the [fugitive slave clause] of that instrument . . . as utterly null and void, and consequently as forming no part of the Constitution of the United States, whenever we are called upon, or sworn, to support it." (*National Party Platforms, 1840-1956*, ed. Kirk H. Porter and Donald B. Johnson [Urbana, Ill., 1956], 8.) Lincoln, on the other hand, solemnly reminded the nation in his first inaugural that public officials "swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as to any other." (*Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler *et al.*, IV, 263.)

³⁸ US Constitution, Art. IV, Sec. 3 [clause 2].

powers that were not federal powers at all but municipal ones, normally reserved to the states? In particular, did it bestow upon Congress, where the territories were concerned, a police power competent to deal with domestic relations and institutions like slavery?

This chain of seemingly trivial questions, it will be observed, led inexorably to the gravest question of the day: the future of slavery in an impetuously expanding nation. On many matters the decisions made by territorial governments might be regarded as unimportant, for the territorial stage was temporary and transitional. With respect to slavery, however, the initial decision was obviously a crucial one. A single article of the Ordinance of 1787 had eventuated in the admission of one free state after another in the Old Northwest. The omission of a comparable article from other territorial enactments had cleared the way for the growth of a black belt of slavery from Alabama through Arkansas. An identical conclusion was drawn by both sides. The power to decide the question of slavery for the territories was the power to determine the future of slavery itself.

In whose hands, then, had the Constitution placed the power of decision with respect to slavery in the territories? This was, in the last analysis, the constitutional question that split the Union. To it, three mutually irreconcilable answers were offered.

The first answer was certainly the most straightforward. The territories were part of the "Property belonging to the United States." The Constitution gave Congress power to "make all needful Rules and Regulations" respecting them. Only a definite provision of the Constitution, either limiting this power or specifying exceptions to it, could destroy the comprehensiveness of the grant. No such limitations or exceptions were stated. Therefore, Congress was fully authorized by the Constitution to prohibit slavery in any or all of the territories, or to permit its spread thereto, as that body, in exercise of normal legislative discretion, might decide.

This was the straightforward answer; it was also the traditional answer. The Continental Congress had given that answer in the Ordinance of 1787, and the first Congress under the Constitution had ratified it. For half a century thereafter the precedents accumulated, including the precedent of the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Only in the 1840's were these precedents challenged.

Because this was the traditional answer, it was (by definition, if you like) the conservative answer. When the breaking point was finally reached in 1860-1861 and four identifiable conflicting groups offered four constitutional doctrines, two of them accepted this general answer, but each gave it a peculiar twist.

Among the four political factions of 1860, the least well-organized was the group that can properly be described as the genuine conservatives. Their vehicle in the election of 1860 was the Constitutional Union party, and a rattletrap vehicle it certainly was. In a very real sense, however, they were the heirs of the old Whig party and particularly of the ideas of Henry Clay. Deeply ingrained was the instinct for compromise. They accepted the view just stated, that the power of decision with respect to slavery in a particular territory belonged to Congress. But they insisted that one additional understanding, hallowed by tradition, should likewise be considered constitutionally binding. In actually organizing the earlier territories, Congress had customarily balanced the prohibition of slavery in one area by the erection elsewhere of a territory wherein slaveholding would be permitted. To conservatives, this was more than a precedent; it was a constitutional principle. When, on December 18, 1860, the venerable John J. Crittenden offered to the Senate the resolutions summing up the conservative answer to the crisis, he was not in reality offering a new plan of compromise. He was, in effect, proposing to write into the Constitution itself the understandings that had governed politics in earlier, less crisis-ridden times. The heart of his plan was the re-establishment of the old Missouri Compromise line, dividing free territories from slave.³⁹ An irrepealable amendment was to change this from a principle of policy into a mandate of constitutional law.

That Congress was empowered to decide the question of slavery for the territories was the view not only of the conservatives, but also of the Republicans. The arguments of the two parties were identical, up to a point; indeed, up to the point just discussed. Though territories in the past had been apportioned between freedom and slavery, the Republicans refused to consider this policy as anything more than a policy, capable of being altered at any time. The Wilmot Proviso of 1846 announced, in effect, that the time had come to abandon the policy. Radical though the proviso may have been in a political sense, it was hardly so in a constitutional sense. The existence of a congressional power is the basic constitutional question. In arguing for the existence of such a power over slavery in the territories, the Republicans took the same ground as the conservatives. In refusing to permit mere precedent to hamper the discretion of Congress in the *use* of that power, they broke with the conservatives. But the distinction they made between power and discretion, that is, between constitutional law and political policy, was neither radical nor unsound.

One innovation did find a place in antislavery, and hence in Republican, constitutional doctrine. Though precedent alone ought not to hamper the

³⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 sess., 114 (Dec. 18, 1860).

discretion of Congress, specific provisions of the Constitution could, and in Republican eyes did, limit and control that discretion. With respect to congressional action on slavery in the territories, so the antislavery forces maintained, the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment constituted such an express limitation. "Our Republican fathers," said the first national platform of the new party in 1856, "ordained that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." To establish slavery in the territories "by positive legislation" would violate this guarantee. Accordingly the Constitution itself operated to "deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislation [*sic*], of any individual, or association of individuals, to give legal existence to Slavery in any Territory of the United States."⁴⁰ The Free Soil platform of 1848 had summed the argument up in an aphorism: "Congress has no more power to make a SLAVE than to make a KING; no more power to institute or establish SLAVERY, than to institute or establish a MONARCHY."⁴¹ As a doctrine of constitutional law, the result was this: the federal government had full authority over the territories, but so far as slavery was concerned, Congress might exercise this authority in only one way, by prohibiting the institution there.

The conservatives and the Republicans took the constitutional system as it stood, a combination of written text and historical precedent, and evolved their variant doctrines therefrom. By contrast, the two other factions of 1860—the northern Democrats under Stephen A. Douglas, and the southern Democrats whose senatorial leader was Jefferson Davis and whose presidential candidate was John C. Breckinridge—appealed primarily to constitutional theories above and beyond the written document and the precedents. If slogans are meaningfully applied, these two factions (each in its own way) were the ones who, in 1860, appealed to a "higher law."

For Douglas, this higher law was the indefeasible right of every community to decide for itself the social institutions it would accept and establish. "Territorial Sovereignty" (a more precise label than "popular sovereignty") meant that this right of decision on slavery belonged to the settlers in a new territory fully as much as to the people of a full-fledged state. At bottom the argument was one from analogy. The Constitution assigned responsibility for national affairs and interstate relations to the federal government; authority over matters of purely local and domestic concern were reserved to the states. So far as this division of power was concerned,

⁴⁰ *National Party Platforms*, ed. Porter and Johnson, 27. This argument from the due process clause went back at least as far as the Liberty party platform of 1844. (*Ibid.*, 5.) It was reiterated in every national platform of an antislavery party thereafter: in 1848 by the Free Soil party, in 1852 by the Free Democrats, and in 1856 and 1860 by the Republicans. (*Ibid.*, 13, 18, 27, 32.)

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 13. Repeated in the Free Democratic platform of 1852. (*Ibid.*, 18.)

Douglas argued, a territory stood on the same footing as a state. It might not yet have sufficient population to entitle it to a vote in Congress, but its people were entitled to self-government from the moment they were "organized into political communities." Douglas took his stand on what he regarded as a fundamental principle of American political philosophy: "that the people of every separate political community (dependent colonies, Provinces, and Territories as well as sovereign States) have an inalienable right to govern themselves in respect to their internal polity."⁴²

Having thus virtually erased the constitutional distinction between a territory and a state—a distinction that was vital (as we shall see) to the state sovereignty interpretation—Douglas proceeded to deal with the argument that since a territorial government was a creation of Congress, the powers it exercised were delegated ones, which Congress itself was free to limit, to overrule, or even to exercise through direct legislation of its own. He met the argument with an ingenious distinction. "Congress," he wrote, "may institute governments for the Territories," and, having done so, may "invest them with powers which Congress does not possess and can not exercise under the Constitution." He continued: "The powers which Congress may thus *confer* but can not *exercise*, are such as relate to the domestic affairs and internal polity of the Territory."⁴³ Their source is not to be sought in any provision of the written Constitution, certainly not in the so-called territorial clause,⁴⁴ but in the underlying principle of self-government.

Though Douglas insisted that the doctrine of popular sovereignty embodied "the ideas and principles of the fathers of the Revolution," his appeal to history was vitiated by special pleading. In his most elaborate review of the precedents (the article in *Harper's Magazine* from which quotations have already been taken), he passed over in silence the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, with its clear-cut congressional ban on slavery.⁴⁵ Douglas chose instead to dwell at length upon the "Jeffersonian Plan of government for the Territories," embodied in the Ordinance of 1784.⁴⁶ This plan, it is true, treated the territories as virtually equal with the member states of the Union, and thus supported (as against subsequent enactments) Douglas' plea for the largest measure of local self-government. When, however, Douglas went on

⁴² Stephen A. Douglas, "The Dividing Line between Federal and Local Authority: Popular Sovereignty in the Territories," *Harper's Magazine*, XIX (Sept. 1859), 519–37, esp. 526.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 520–21.

⁴⁴ Douglas insisted that this clause referred "exclusively to property in contradistinction to persons and communities." (*Ibid.*, 528.)

⁴⁵ He likewise ignored all subsequent enactments of the same sort, save to register agreement with the dictum of the Supreme Court, announced in the Dred Scott opinion, that the Missouri Compromise had always been unconstitutional. (*Ibid.*, 530.)

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 525–26.

to imply that the "Jeffersonian Plan" precluded, in principle, any congressional interference with slavery in the territories, he was guilty of outright misrepresentation. Jefferson's original draft (still extant in his own hand) included a forthright prohibition of slavery in all the territories.⁴⁷ The Continental Congress, it is true, refused at the time to adopt this particular provision, a fact that Douglas mentioned,⁴⁸ but there is no evidence whatever to show that they believed they lacked the power to do so. Three years later, the same body exercised this very power by unanimous vote of the eight states present.⁴⁹

Disingenuousness reached its peak in Douglas' assertion that the Ordinance of 1784 "stood on the statute book unrepealed and irrepealable . . . when, on the 14th day of May, 1787, the Federal Convention assembled at Philadelphia and proceeded to form the Constitution under which we now live."⁵⁰ Unrepealed the ordinance still was, and likewise unimplemented, but irrepealable it was not. Sixty days later, on July 13, 1787, Congress repealed it outright and substituted in its place the Northwest Ordinance,⁵¹ which Douglas chose not to discuss.

Despite these lapses, Douglas was, in truth, basing his doctrine upon one undeniably important element in the historic tradition of American political philosophy. In 1860 he was the only thoroughgoing advocate of local self-determination and local autonomy. He could justly maintain that he was upholding this particular aspect of the constitutional tradition not only against the conservatives and the Republicans, but also (and most emphatically) against the southern wing of his own party, which bitterly repudiated the whole notion of local self-government, when it meant that the people of a territory might exclude slavery from their midst.

This brings us to the fourth of the parties that contested the election of 1860, and to the third and last of the answers that were given to the question of where the Constitution placed the power to deal with slavery in the territories.

⁴⁷ Report to Congress, Mar. 1, 1784, and revised report, Mar. 22, 1784, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd *et al.* (16 vols., Princeton, N. J., 1950-), VI, 604, 608.

⁴⁸ Douglas, "Federal and Local Authority," 526. The antislavery provision came to a vote in the Continental Congress on April 19, 1784, under a rule requiring the favorable vote of the majority of the states for adoption. Six states voted in favor of the provision, only three against it. One state was divided. Another state could not be counted, because a quorum of the delegation was not present, but the single delegate on the floor voted "aye." (*Journals of the Continental Congress*, ed. Worthington C. Ford *et al.* [34 vols., Washington, D. C., 1904-37], XXVI, 247.)

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, XXXII, 343. This was the vote on July 13, 1787, adopting the Ordinance of 1787 with its antislavery article; only one member voted against the ordinance. There is no evidence of opposition to the antislavery article itself, which was added as an amendment in the course of the preceding debate.

⁵⁰ Douglas, "Federal and Local Authority," 526.

⁵¹ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, ed. Ford *et al.*, XXXII, 343. As if anticipating

At first glance there would appear to be only two possible answers. Either the power of decision lay with the federal government, to which the territories had been ceded or by which they had been acquired; or else the decision rested with the people of the territories, by virtue of some inherent right of self-government. Neither answer, however, was acceptable to the proslavery forces. By the later 1850's they were committed to a third doctrine, state sovereignty.

The theory of state sovereignty takes on a deceptive appearance of simplicity in most historical accounts. This is because it is usually examined only in the context of the secession crisis. In that situation the corollaries drawn from the theory of state sovereignty were, in fact, exceedingly simple. If the Union was simply a compact among states that retained their ultimate sovereignty, then one or more of them could legally and peacefully withdraw from it, for reasons which they, as sovereigns, might judge sufficient. Often overlooked is the fact that secession itself was responsible for reducing the argument over state sovereignty to such simple terms. The right to secede was only one among many corollaries of the complex and intricate doctrine of the sovereignty of the states. In the winter and spring of 1860-1861, this particular corollary, naked and alone, became the issue on which events turned. Earlier applications of the doctrine became irrelevant. As they dropped from view, they were more or less forgotten. The theory of state sovereignty came to be regarded simply as a theory that had to do with the perpetuity of the Union.

The simplicity of the theory is, however, an illusion. The illusion is a consequence of reading history backward. The proslavery constitutional argument with respect to slavery in the territories cannot possibly be understood if the fifteen years of debate prior to 1860 are regarded simply as a dress rehearsal for secession. When applied to the question of slavery, state sovereignty was a positive doctrine, a doctrine of power, specifically, a doctrine designed to place in the hands of the slaveholding states a power sufficient to uphold slavery and promote its expansion *within* the Union. Secession might be an ultimate recourse, but secession offered no answer whatever to the problems of power that were of vital concern to the slaveholding states so long as they remained in the Union and used the Constitution as a piece of working machinery.

As a theory of how the Constitution should operate, as distinguished from a theory of how it might be dismantled, state sovereignty gave its own distinctive answer to the question of where the authority lay to deal with mat-

Douglas' contention that the earlier ordinance was "irrepealable," the Congress that had adopted it not only repealed it, but declared it "null and void."

ters involving slavery in the territories. All such authority, the theory insisted, resided in the sovereign states. But how, one may well ask, was such authority to be exercised? The answer was ingenious. The laws that maintained slavery—which were, of course, the laws of the slaveholding states—must be given extraterritorial or extrajurisdictional effect.⁵² In other words, the laws that established a property in slaves were to be respected, and if necessary enforced, by the federal government, acting as agent for its principals, the sovereign states of the Union.

At the very beginning of the controversy, on January 15, 1847, five months after the introduction of the Wilmot Proviso, Robert Barnwell Rhett of South Carolina showed how that measure could be countered, and proslavery demands supported, by an appeal to the *mystique* of the sovereignty of the several states:

Their sovereignty, unalienated and unimpaired . . . , exists in all its plenitude over our territories; as much so, as within the limits of the States themselves. . . . The only effect, and probably the only object of their reserved sovereignty, is, that it secures to each State the right to enter the territories with her citizens, and settle and occupy them with their property—with whatever is recognised as property by each State. The ingress of the citizen, is the ingress of his sovereign, who is bound to protect him in his settlement.⁵³

Nine years later the doctrine had become the dominant one in proslavery thinking, and on January 24, 1856, Robert Toombs of Georgia summed it up succinctly: "Congress has no power to limit, restrain, or in any manner to impair slavery: but, on the contrary, it is bound to protect and maintain it in the States where it exists, and wherever its flag floats, and its jurisdiction is paramount."⁵⁴ In effect, the laws of slavery were to become an integral part of the laws of the Union, so far as the territories were concerned.

Four irreconcilable constitutional doctrines were presented to the American people in 1860. There was no consensus, and the stage was set for civil war. The issues in which the long controversy culminated were abstruse. They concerned a seemingly minor detail of the constitutional system. The arguments that supported the various positions were intricate and theoretical. But the abstractness of constitutional issues has nothing to do, one way or the other, with the role they may happen to play at a moment of crisis. The sole question is the load that events have laid upon them. Thanks to the structure of the American constitutional system itself, the abstruse issue of slavery in the territories was required to carry the burden of well-nigh all

⁵² These terms were suggested, and their propriety defended, in my article, "State Sovereignty and Slavery," 128–31, 147.

⁵³ *Congressional Globe*, 29 Cong., 2 sess., Appendix, 246 (Jan. 15, 1847).

⁵⁴ Speech in Boston, reprinted in an appendix to Stephens, *Constitutional View*, I, 625–47, esp. 625.

the emotional drives, well-nigh all the political and economic tensions, and well-nigh all the moral perplexities that resulted from the existence in the United States of an archaic system of labor and an intolerable policy of racial subjection. To change the metaphor, the constitutional question of legislative authority over the territories became, so to speak, the narrow channel through which surged the torrent of ideas and interests and anxieties that flooded down from every drenched hillside upon which the storm cloud of slavery discharged its poisoned rain.

The *Carbonari*: Their Origins, Initiation Rites, and Aims

R. JOHN RATH*

OF the numerous secret societies that honeycombed the Apennine Peninsula during the early part of the nineteenth century none aroused a greater fear among individuals frightened by the French Revolution than the *Carbonari*. Emperor Francis and other Austrian conservatives, including Metternich, were so convinced that the *Carbonari* and other secret societies were dangerous to the maintenance of the *status quo* and the preservation of Habsburg interests in Italy that they organized a secret spy network encompassing all Italy to ferret them out. What were the origins of this *Carbonari* society which so alarmed many a champion of law and order during the period immediately following Napoleon's overthrow? What rituals and symbols were associated with the various grades of membership in the organization? What were its teachings and aims? Were the *Carbonari* actually as perilous as various governments in Europe believed them to be? In this paper I will attempt to answer these questions in so far as I can from the source material available for such a study.

The origins, nature, teachings, and activities of the *Carbonari* are still shrouded in mystery and obscurity. According to one legend, the order was started by Alexander the Great's father, Philip of Macedonia.¹ According to other myths, the society either originated in the Middle Ages as a mutual assistance society of German charcoal burners² or else was established by liberty loving Frenchmen who fled to the Jura Mountains during the reign of Charles VI.³ The most frequently repeated tradition, however, connects the beginnings of the sect with the legendary eleventh-century St. Theobald,

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¹ Giovanni de Castro, *Il mondo segreto* (9 vols., Milan, 1864), VIII, 25.

² *Memoirs of the Secret Societies of the South of Italy, particularly the Carbonari* [hereafter cited as *Memoirs of the Carbonari*], tr. from the original MSS (London, 1821), I-2; Albert Falcionelli, *Les sociétés secrètes italiennes. Les Carbonari.—La Camorra. La Mafia* (Paris, 1936), 12.

³ Ettore Fabietti, *I Carbonari* (Milan, 1942), 41.

who allegedly founded the organization in Switzerland to provide hospitality for travelers.⁴ A closely related hypothesis is that the *Carbonari* were nothing but the Good Cousins who originated in France either during the Middle Ages or in the sixteenth century and flourished in the Franche-Comté.⁵ Historians who believe that the society was of French origin usually attribute its introduction to southern Italy during the early part of the nineteenth century to such different groups or persons as Neapolitan exiles of the 1799 Bourbon Restoration,⁶ French troops,⁷ or Joachim Murat's own Police Minister Maghella.⁸

Although, according to most *Carbonari* legends, medieval France was the birthplace of the society, various authorities have insisted that it was founded in Scotland⁹ or England, either by Scottish rite Masons¹⁰ or under the name of Society of Friends.¹¹ The proponents of the theory of British origin maintain that the society either spread to Italy by way of Malta, where it had been installed by the British, or that Lord William Bentinck, the British commander in Sicily and the Mediterranean from 1811 to 1814, or some other

⁴ *Memoirs of the Carbonari*, 6-7; Giuseppe de Ninno, *La Setta dei Carbonari in Bari nel 1820-21. Ricordi storici seguiti da note biografiche dei Deputati della Provincia di Terra di Bari al Parlamento Napoletano in detta epoca* (Bari, 1911), 9-10; Bianca Marcolongo, "Le origini della Carboneria e le società segrete nell'Italia meridionale dal 1810 al 1820," *Studi storici*, XX (1912), 280.

⁵ Albert Mathiez, "L'origine franc-comtoise de la Charbonnerie italienne," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, V (Nov.-Dec. 1928), 551-61; Jacques Godechot, "I francesi e l'unità italiana sotto il direttorio," *Rivista storica italiana*, LXIV (No. 4, 1952), 578-79; anon. report (n. p., June 30, 1817), *Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv*, Vienna [hereafter cited as SA [Vienna]], *Staatskanzlei, Provinzen, Lombardei-Venedig*, Fasz. XL, Kon. 1, fol. 190; M. Saint-Edme, *Constitution et organisation des Carbonari, ou documens exacts sur tout ce qui concerne l'existence, l'origine et le but de cette société* (Paris, 1820), 5; letter from Rome, July 12, 1819, *ibid.*, 192-95; F. T. B. Clavel, *Histoire pittoresque de la franc-maçonnerie et des sociétés secrètes anciennes et modernes* (3d ed., Paris, 1844), 379; Rossetti memoir, June 15, 1814, Renato Soriga, "Gl'inizi della Carboneria in Italia secondo un rapporto segreto del generale Giuseppe Rossetti," *Il Risorgimento italiano*, XXI (Jan.-Mar. 1928), 78 (also in *id.*, *Le Società segrete, l'emigrazione politica e i primi moti per l'indipendenza*, Scritti raccolti e ordinati da Silio Manfredi, Vol. XXIX of *Collezione storica del Risorgimento italiano* [Modena, 1942], 71).

⁶ Pietro Colletta, *Storia del reame di Napoli dal 1734 sino al 1825* (2d ed., 2 vols., Florence, 1848), II, 281; Giuseppe Pardi, "Nuove notizie sull'origine della Carboneria e di qualche altra Società segreta," *Nuova rivista storica*, X (Nov.-Dec. 1926), 471; Castro, *Il mondo segreto*, VIII, 29.

⁷ Falcionelli, *Les sociétés secrètes italiennes*, 15; Fabietti, *I Carbonari*, 43; Mathiez, "L'origine franc-comtoise de la Charbonnerie italienne," 551; R. M. Johnston, *The Napoleonic Empire in Southern Italy and the Rise of the Secret Societies* (2 vols., London, 1904), II, 33.

⁸ Piero Pieri, *Le società segrete ed i moti degli anni 1820-21 e 1831. Con 159 illustrazioni e tavole fuori testo* (2d ed., Milan, 1948), 60-61; Thomas Frost, *The Secret Societies of the European Revolution, 1776-1876* (2 vols., London, 1876), I, 209-10.

⁹ During his trial in the 1820's Piero Maroncelli informed the Austrian inquisitors that the *Carbonari* began in Scotland and were propagandized in England. (Marcolongo, "Le origini della Carboneria," 284.)

¹⁰ Angela Valente, *Gioacchino Murat e l'Italia meridionale* (Turin, 1941), 91; Renato Soriga, "Le società segrete e i moti del 1820 a Napoli," *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, VIII (Fascicolo straordinario, 1921), 154-55 (also in Soriga, *Le Società segrete*, 80-81).

¹¹ Testimony of Dr. Vasani, as reported in Anton Edler von Vogel to Count Peter Goëss, Venice, Sept. 15, 1817, *Archivio di Stato*, Milan [hereafter cited as AS [Milan]], *Presidenza di governo. Atti segreti*, 1817, Cart. XVI, ad No. 10063/geh.

English officer introduced the *Carbonari* in southern Italy.¹² Other writers, insisting that the *Carbonari* were an indigenous Italian organization, have attributed their beginning to the coal venders of the Abruzzi and Calabria¹³ or have asserted that they were either a semi-Masonic popular sect founded in 1718 by the Pignatelli family¹⁴ or a secret society instituted by Queen Maria Carolina for the purpose of undermining the French regime in Naples.¹⁵

Most historians, however, have connected the order with either the Illuminati or the Freemasons. Because of a similarity between the means of correspondence employed in Germany by the Illuminati and those used by the *Carbonari*, as well as other likenesses between the two associations, some recent scholars like Carlo Francovich and Arthur Lehning¹⁶ have argued that the *Carbonari* were organized by the Illuminati.¹⁷ The best-substantiated hypothesis, however, is that the *Carbonari* emanated from the Freemasons. Considerable resemblance between the symbols, form of organization, and practices of the *Carbonari* and the Freemasons or such Masonic offshoots

¹² *Ibid.*; testimony given by G. B. Canonici in Aug. 1820, "Le origine e lo scopo della Carboneria secondo i costumi de' primi Carbonari e Gueffi," *La civiltà cattolica*, LXVI (June 19, 1915), 642; Pecchio, *Catechismo italiano*, as quoted in Alessandro Luzio, *La Massoneria e il Risorgimento italiano. Saggio storico-critico. Con illustrazioni e molti documenti inediti* (2 vols., Bologna [1925]), I, 165-66; testimony given by Raimondo Doria to Judge Paride Zajotti in the Milan trials, as cited in *ibid.*, 165; Pietro Dolce report, Milan, Nov. 1815, *ibid.*, 162; report of Senator Vincenzo Dandolo of Ancona sent by Minister Giuseppe Fontanelli to Police Director Giacomo Luini on Nov. 29, 1813, *ibid.*, 165 (the original MSS is in AS [Milan], *Presidenza di governo. Atti segreti*, 1817, Cart. XV, ad No. 131/geh., 142/geh., 372/geh.). It should be noted, however, that the most recent scholar on Bentinck's activities in southern Italy, John Rosselli, places little faith in the conjectures that Bentinck and other British agents played an active role in founding the *Carbonari* or in supporting the activities of Italian secret societies before 1814. (See his *Lord William Bentinck and the British Occupation of Sicily, 1811-1814* [Cambridge, Eng., 1956], 198-99.)

¹³ See Filippo Montalbano Nobile, *Le società segrete nella rigenerazione politica d'Italia* (Catania, 1921), 12.

¹⁴ Anon. report enclosed in Goëss to Archduke Rainer, Venice, May 25, 1818, SA [Vienna], *Kabinetts-Akten*, 1818, ad No. 453; anon. report annexed to Luini to Prince Eugene [1813], AS [Milan], *Presidenza di governo. Atti segreti*, 1817, Cart. XV, Rub. ad No. 131/geh., No. 142/geh.; Count Franz Joseph Saurau to Count Joseph Sedlnitzky, Milan, May 6, 1817, *ibid.*, No. 373/geh.; Oreste Dito, *Massoneria, carboneria ed altre società segrete nella storia del Risorgimento italiano, con appendice ed illustrazioni* (Turin, 1905), 69.

¹⁵ Grégoire Orloff, *Mémoires historiques, politiques et littéraires sur le royaume de Naples* (5 vols., Paris, 1819-21), II, 284-85; Pardi, "Nuove notizie sull'origine della Carboneria," 470, 472; Ilario Rinieri, "Le sette in Italia dopo la restaurazione del 1814. La congiura di Macerata (1817)," *Il Risorgimento italiano*, XIX (Jan.-June 1926), 5-6.

¹⁶ See Carlo Francovich, "Gli Illuminati di Weishaupt e l'idea egualitaria in alcune società segrete del Risorgimento," *Movimento operaio. Rivista di storia e bibliografia*, New Ser., IV (July-Aug. 1952), 580-83; and Arthur Lehning, "Buonarroti and His International Secret Societies," *International Review of Social History*, I (Pt. 1, 1956), 121.

¹⁷ Pietro Dolce, a spy in Habsburg pay, asserted positively that the *Carbonari* were founded in southern Italy during or immediately after Napoleon's Russian campaign "by the Illuminati of Naples, directed by the Illuminati of London as well as by all the English Masonic lodges." (See his report to Saurau in Nov. 1815, Luzio, *La Massoneria e il Risorgimento italiano*, I, 117.) Dolce's reliability as an expert on secret societies, however, was not very good. (See my article on "La costituzione guelfa e i servizi segreti austriaci," in the *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, L [July-Sept. 1963], 343-76, and note 22, below. For other sources supporting the theory, see Rossetti memoir, June 15, 1814, Soriga, "Gli inizi della Carboneria in Italia," 79 [p. 72 in *id.*, *Le Società segrete*]; and Cesare D'Azeglio to Sardinian government, June 16, 26, 1814, Luzio, *La Massoneria e il Risorgimento italiano*, I, 123, 124.)

as the Tugendbund and the Illuminati¹⁸—and the Illuminati were after all of Masonic derivation—has led perhaps a majority of Italian historians to deduce that the *Carbonari* were either a branch or reform of or a schism from the Freemasons.¹⁹ In other words, the *Carbonari* were a “popular” Freemasonry created by liberal anti-Napoleonic Masons to serve as a vehicle to arouse the uneducated masses in southern Italy against the French.²⁰

When one turns to the initiation ceremonies, symbols, and teachings of the lower grades of the *Carbonari* he has more concrete evidence than when he deals with the origins of the society. It is true that there was substantial variation from place to place and from time to time in the rituals and symbols used by the *Carbonari*.²¹ Nevertheless, since the versions of the initiation rites and catechisms of the first two grades described in the most important primary sources that have been published or that I have discovered in the Milanese archives resemble each other closely in all but relatively minor details, it seems probable that there were official or standard rites, catechisms, and ceremonies that were followed by a large number of the *Carbonari* lodges.²²

¹⁸ See esp. Ulisse Bacci to Gino Bandini, Rome, Feb. 4, 1914, Luzio, *La Massoneria e il Risorgimento italiano*, II, 245; letter from Senator Dandolo of Ancona enclosed in Fontanelli to Luini, Nov. 29, 1813, *ibid.*, 165 (the original MSS is in AS [Milan], *Presidenza di governo. Atti segreti*, 1817, Cart. XV, Rub. ad No. 131/geh., No. 142/geh.); Ilario Rinieri, *I costituti del Conte Confalonieri e il Principe di Carignano* (Turin, 1902), 8–16; Rossetti memoir, June 15, 1814, Soriga, “Gl’inizi della Carboneria in Italia,” 79 (p. 72 in *id.*, *Le Società segrete*); Marcolongo, “Le origini della Carboneria,” 301; Angela Mariutti, *Organismo ed azione delle società segrete del veneto durante la seconda dominazione austriaca (1814–1847)*, in *Miscellanea di storia veneta*, III (Venice, 1930), 37; and Saint-Edme, *Constitution et organisation des Carbonari*, 7–8.

¹⁹ See esp. Domenico Spadoni, *Sette, cospirazioni e cospiratori nello stato pontificio all’indomani della restaurazione. L’occupazione napoletana, la restaurazione e le sette* (Rome, 1904), civ–cv; anon. memoir on the *Carbonari* in Orloff, *Mémoires sur le royaume de Naples*, II, 421; *The Fate of the Carbonari. Memoirs of Felice Foresti* [hereafter cited as *Memoirs of Felice Foresti*], tr. Howard R. Marraro (New York, 1932), 1; Wit von Dörning, *Fragmente aus meinem Leben und meiner Zeit* (Brunswick, 1827), 31; Dito, *Massoneria, carboneria ed altre società segrete*, 69–71; “L’origine e lo scopo della Carboneria,” 654; Marcolongo, “Le origini della Carboneria,” 284–85, 289, 299, 301–302; Luzio, *La Massoneria e il Risorgimento italiano*, I, 169–70; Pieri, *Le società segrete*, 58–60; Ilario Rinieri, *Della Vita e delle Opere di Silvio Pellico. Da lettere e documenti inediti* (3 vols., Turin, 1898–1901), II, 2; Cesare Cantù, *Della indipendenza italiana cronistoria* (3 vols., Turin, 1872–77), I, 808; Nobile, *Le società segrete*, 13; Giuseppe Leti, *Carboneria e Massoneria nel Risorgimento italiano. Saggio di critica storica* (Genoa, 1925), 69–71; and Giuseppe Gallavresi, “La franc-maçonnerie et la formation de l’unité italienne,” *Revue des questions historiques*, XCVII (Oct. 1, 1922), 419.

²⁰ See also Giuseppe de Ninno, *Filadelfi e Carbonari in Carbonara di Bari negli albori del Risorgimento Italiano (1816–1821)* (Bari, 1922), 14.

²¹ For instance, Felice Foresti related that he was admitted to all grades of the society on a single day. (*Memoirs of Felice Foresti*, 2.) Furthermore, the initiation rites for Primo Uccellini (see his *Memorie di un vecchio carbonaro ravennate*, ed. Tommaso Casini, in *Biblioteca storica del Risorgimento italiano*, V–VI [Rome, 1898], 7–8) differed considerably from those described by Giovanni Ruffini (as quoted in Fabietti, *I Carbonari*, 46–52) and by the “ancient member of the sect” whose account of his own initiation is given by Falcionelli in his *Les sociétés secrètes*, 13–15.

²² For instance, the *Carbonari* statutes printed by Saint-Edme (in his *Constitution et organisation des Carbonari*, 48–92); the initiation ceremonies described in the *Carbonari Memoirs* published in London in 1821 (see *Memoirs of the Carbonari*, Appendix III, 194–203); the *Car-*

Reading these sources reveals that the fundamental teachings of the society were gradually communicated to the members, the so-called "good cousins," grade by grade. Although immoral persons, men accused of infamous crimes, those who had the reputation of being weak in spirit or character, and people who had antisocial and antiliberal views and who were incapable of being "perfected" were supposedly excluded from membership,²³ admission to the lowest rank, that of apprentice, was, to all appearances, rather easily obtained. As nothing of importance was entrusted to the apprentices, very little risk was involved in multiplying them. The chief object was to secure a numerous and well-disciplined body of men ready to obey the orders of their superiors.

The initiation services for the first grade and the other meetings of the apprentices were held in a meeting place called the *baracca*, or hut. The space surrounding it was referred to as the forest, and the interior of the lodge, the *vendita*, or shop in which the *Carbonari* labored. At the end of the room opposite the entrance to the *vendita* was a trunk, or hewn block of timber, for the use of the grand master, who presided at the meeting. The other officers were posted at designated places to the side of the grand master and at the opposite end of the hall, near the entrance. The rank and file *Carbonari* sat on long, rude benches placed along the sides of the hall, the apprentices on the right and the masters on the left.²⁴

Before the candidate to be initiated was brought into the *vendita* he was asked to sit for a brief interval on a designated trunk in the forest and to spend some time in the so-called "grotto of reflection." Then he was blindfolded and led by a master *Carbonaro* to the entrance of the *vendita*, where he gave his name, age, residence, religion, and profession. He explained, upon demand, that he had been carrying wood, leaves, and earth in the forest in order to build, kindle a fire in, and cook on the furnace; that he was bringing faith, hope, and charity to all good cousins in the chamber of honor at the entrance of which he stood; and that he wanted to enter it to

bonari regulations discovered in the Papal States that were published by Alessandro Luzio in his *Il Processo Pellico-Maroncelli secondo gli atti ufficiali segreti* (Milan, 1903), Appendix IV, 317-29; the catechism for apprentices that the secret spy Pietro Dolce sent to Count Franz Saurau, the governor of Lombardy, from Lodi on Aug. 17, 1816 (AS [Milan], *Presidenza di governo. Atti segreti*, 1816, Cart. XI, ad No. 341/geh.); and the initiation rituals and catechisms for the first and second grades transmitted by Dolce to Saurau's successor, Count Julius Strassoldo, on Feb. 19, 1819 (*ibid.*, 1819, Cart. XXIII, No. 45/geh., Annexes C, D, I, K), which Dolce maintained were secret documents of the *Carbonari* in the Ionian Isles (Pietro Dolce report, Milan, Feb. 19, 1819, *ibid.*, No. 45/geh.), but which the Habsburg authorities proved to their own satisfaction were actually *Carbonari* documents from Naples (Goëss to Strassoldo, Venice, Apr. 17, 1819, *ibid.*, No. 75/geh.; Strassoldo to Sedlnitzky, Milan, July 17, 1819, *ibid.*, Cart. XXIV, No. 148/geh.), are so much alike that they can be looked upon as basic official sources for the lower two *Carbonari* ranks.

²³ Art. 133, *Carbonari* statutes, Luzio, *Il Processo Pellico-Maroncelli*, Appendix IV, 297; also in Spadoni, *Sette, cospirazioni e cospiratori nello stato pontificio*, 33.

²⁴ Frost, *Secret Societies of the European Revolution*, I, 213-14.

conquer his passions and to be instructed about the duties of the *Carbonari*. After this he was allowed to enter the *vendita*.

In the meeting hall the candidate was questioned about his morality and religion and his willingness to give benevolences to the poor. He was told that if he became a *Carbonaro* he must always be wholly sincere, absolutely docile, and ready to face all perils. Furthermore, he must be subjected to further tests before he would be admitted into the society.

Upon a command from the grand master, the initiate was led out of the *baracca* to make a journey through the forest, during which he heard leaves rustling from the branches of trees and was made to stumble across various obstacles placed in his pathway. On his return he was told that the obstacles encountered on his journey demonstrated the weakness of mortals and the fact that virtue can be attained only by perseverance in good works, under the guidance of reason. Thereupon the candidate was taken on a second journey during which he was required to pass through fire. After he re-entered the *vendita*, the grand master explained that the second voyage symbolized the flame of charity, which should always remain kindled in one's heart to efface the stains of the seven capital sins.

Then the initiate was made to kneel upon a white linen cloth, place his hand upon a hatchet, and take an oath in which he pledged himself "scrupulously to keep the secret of Carbonarism," to help his *Carbonari* good cousins "in case of need," and never "to attempt anything against the honor of their families." In case he perjured himself, he consented to have his body "cut into pieces" and "then burnt" and the "ashes scattered to the wind," so that his name would always "be cursed by the good cousins throughout the earth."

Having taken this oath, the candidate was led to the middle of the ranks of the *Carbonari* and asked what he desired. Prompted by the master of ceremonies, the candidate asked for "light," whereupon the grand master struck the trunk in front of him three times with his hatchet. After this action was repeated by all persons present in the hall, the initiate's bandage was removed, and he was told that the hatchets that he had heard would kill him if he perjured himself, but would be struck to defend him in case of need if he remained faithful to the *Carbonari*. The initiate was again brought to the throne (the block of timber in front of the grand master) and required to take a second oath, this time that he would always be faithful to the statutes of the order and to all the rules and regulations of the *vendita* of which he was being made a member. He was then declared an apprentice *Carbonaro*, and the sacred words, decorations, and touch of the apprentices were revealed to him.²⁵ He was informed that the apprentices had no passwords;

²⁵ The above description of the initiation ceremonies for apprentices has been based on the

that the sacred words of their grade were "Faith, Hope, Charity"; that the distinctive decoration of the apprentices was a specimen of wood²⁶ with three ribbons, one black, another blue, and the third red, attached to it; and that the touch was made by pressing the middle finger on the right thumb of the fellow apprentice.²⁷

For the apprentices the emphasis was thus placed on the importance of charity, obedience, and virtue, as guided by reason, and on the necessity of keeping all *Carbonari* teachings secret. Certainly there was nothing in the ritual, symbols, or doctrines of the first grade that was inimical to the prevailing moral, religious, or political concepts. Like the Freemasons, the *Carbonari* apprentices were imbued with humanitarian ideas and were taught the importance of uprightness, honor, benevolence, and respect for law and order.²⁸

In the initiation rites for the second grade, that of masters, the same virtues were again stressed, but something entirely new was added. In a colorful, emotion evoking ceremony, intended to appeal to the extremely religious and superstitious peasantry of southern Italy, the whole emphasis was placed on "Jesus Christ, Grand Master of the Universe," the perfect man who became a "victim of the most cruel tyranny"²⁹ because He advocated the enactment of legislation analogous to the laws of nature and because He came to earth to enlighten the people and to redeem them from slavery.³⁰ It was now impressed upon the *Carbonari* that, just as Jesus went to heaven after much suffering on earth, the *Carbonari*, too, could receive the blessings and privi-

following sources: "The Reception of an Apprentice Carbonaro," *Carbonari* statutes, Luzio, *Il Processo Pellico-Maroncelli*, Appendix IV, 317-20; "Ceremony for the First Oath of the Apprentices" allegedly used in the Ionian Isles annexed to Dolce report, Milan, Feb. 19, 1819, AS [Milan], *Presidenza di governo. Atti segreti*, 1819, Cart. XXIII, No. 45/geh., Annex D; "Reception of a Carbonaro," *Memoirs of the Carbonari*, Appendix III, 194-98; and review of "Memoirs of the Secret Societies of the South of Italy, particularly the Carbonari. Translated from the original MS.," *The British Critic*, Ser. 2, XV (1821), 595-97. It should be noted that, although all of the above sources agree with each other in all but insignificant details, they differ in various ways from those described in "Opening of the *Vendita* to the Grade of Apprentices," *Carbonari* constitution, Saint-Edme, *Constitution et organisation des Carbonari*, 48-52, and are entirely different from those depicted by Uccellini and Ruffini. (See Uccellini, *Memorie di un vecchio carbonaro*, 7-8; Fabietti, *I Carbonari*, 46-52; and Falcionelli, *Les sociétés secrètes*, 13-15.)

²⁶ The specimen of wood was reminiscent of the samples offered to customers by the medieval woodcutters of St. Theobald's time.

²⁷ *Memoirs of the Carbonari*, Appendix III, 202; "Instructions for Initiates," *Carbonari* constitution, Saint-Edme, *Constitution et organisation des Carbonari*, 47.

²⁸ For discussions of Masonic principles and teachings during the early part of the nineteenth century, see J. G. Findel, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei von der Zeit ihres Entstehens bis auf die Gegenwart* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1861), I, 7-11; Manuel maçonnique, ou *Tuileur de tous les rites de maçonnerie pratiqués en France; dans lequel on trouve l'Étymologie et l'Interprétation des Mots et des Noms mystérieux de tous les Grades qui composent les différents Rites*, by "un vétéran de la maçonnerie" (Paris, 1820), 21-22; Francovich, "Gli Illuminati di Weishaupt," 553-55; Leti, *Carboneria e Massoneria*, 29-30; and Pietro Dolce to Saurau, Nov. 1815, Luzio, *La Massoneria e il Risorgimento italiano*, I, Appendix VI, 111-12.

²⁹ Orloff, *Mémoires sur le royaume de Naples*, II, 421.

³⁰ "Catechism and Explanation of the Four Symbols of the Carbonari," Rinieri, "Le sette in Italia dopo la restaurazione del 1814," 51.

leges for which they yearned if they underwent sufficient trials and made enough sacrifices.³¹

The initiation rite for master *Carbonari* took the form of a mock trial of Jesus of Nazareth. The grand master, who assumed the position of president during the ceremony, donned a red robe and adopted the name of Pilate. His two assistants were on this occasion called counselors of the College of Respectable Carbonarism. The first counselor played the role of Caiaphas, and the second, that of Herod. The expert became the chief of the guards, and the master of ceremonies, the godfather. The good cousins present at the meeting were referred to as the people.

After the counselors saluted the Grand Master of the Universe and St. Theobald and invoked their blessings on their labors, the blindfolded candidate was led in front of the president, who questioned him on the catechism of the apprentices and then informed him that he must undergo more important trials than those which he had already endured. After drinking from the cup of bitterness the initiate was led bound to Pilate by the chief of the guards, who informed Pilate that he was bringing a "person accused of sedition" who was found "in the midst of wretches who listened to him." Amidst indignant shouts that the prisoner was "a seducer of the people, who, to govern despotically, and to overthrow our religion, calls himself the living God," Pilate, declaring that the crime was too serious for him to judge alone, commanded the chief of the guards to take him to Caiaphas. Caiaphas also refused to accept responsibility and sent the captive to Herod, who, after the initiate stated that he was "the Son of the living God," declared that the prisoner was obviously insane, had a white robe put on him, and ordered him returned to Pilate for final judgment.

When the candidate reappeared before Pilate, the latter, refusing to punish him before giving him an opportunity to defend himself even though the people were now imperiously clamoring for his condemnation, asked the prisoner who he was. The godfather replied for the prisoner, "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews," whereupon Pilate commanded that "a crown of thorns be put upon his head and a scepter in his hands." Since the "people" remained unsatisfied, Pilate ordered: "Strip him, bind him to this column, and scourge him." Still displeased, the people demanded that the prisoner be crucified. Pilate then declared: "I have done my duty; you wish his death; I give him to you; I wash my hands of the deed; the innocent blood be upon you and on your children."

³¹ Report on the *Carbonari* by the Prussian General Consul in Italy, Jakob L. Salomo Bartoldy, June 1817, enclosed in Saurau to Sedlnitzky, Milan, Sept. 1, 1817, AS [Milan], *Presidenza di governo. Atti segreti*, 1817, Cart. XVI, ad No. 890/geh.

After Pilate had washed his hands, the apprentice was delivered over to the people, who forced him to carry his cross to Calvary. There his pardon was asked and granted. The president stripped off his robe and told the candidate to take his oath. If he consented, his blindfold was removed, and he was made to kneel, with his right hand on a hatchet. Except for the fact that he also swore that he would never talk about the secrets "of the apprentices before the pagans," or non-*Carbonari*, "nor of those of the masters before the apprentices," and promised that he would never "establish a *vendita* without permission," his pledge was practically identical to the one he had taken when he became an apprentice.³²

The master *Carbonaro* was informed that the first good cousins were the Twelve Apostles, that the washing of hands during the ceremony signified that nothing profane must ever enter the *vendita*, and that the trip to Calvary symbolized the funeral procession of every good cousin. He learned that the *Carbonari* had been exempt from all taxes and contributions since the reign of Francis I of France. He heard that the password for the masters was "Fern, Nettle"; that the sacred words were "Honor, Virtue, Probity"; and that the "word of order" was changed each month. The three signs that the *Carbonari* made symbolized the faith of every *Carbonaro* in his holy religion, the need for every good cousin to bridle his passions and always be obedient, and the martyrdom that he must suffer rather than violate his oath.³³

There was certainly nothing openly subversive in the elaborate initiation ceremony and seemingly nonsensical symbolism for the grade of masters as described above. In fact, in both of the first two grades the whole emphasis was placed on secrecy, morality, and Christian religious principles.³⁴ The initiation ritual and catechism for the second grade were replete with such terms as the Holy Trinity, the Holy Gospel, the Holy Virgin, Heaven, the Garden of Olives, the Crucifixion and suffering of Christ, the Twelve Apostles, the original sin, and the capital sins. It should be noted, however, that Christ was always alluded to, not in Christian terms, but in the Masonic language of "Grand Master of the Universe." At the same time, He was referred to as a *Carbonaro*—the "Good Cousin Grand Master of the Universe." In fact, the

³² For the initiation rites for masters, see "Ceremony for the Reception of a Good Cousin to the Grade of Master," *Carbonari* constitution, Saint-Edme, *Constitution et organisation des Carbonari*, 80–87; reception to the second grade in the Ionian Isles, annexed to Dolce report, Milan, Feb. 19, 1819, AS [Milan], *Presidenza di governo. Atti segreti*, 1819, Cart. XXIII, No. 45/geh., Annex I; "Reception to the Second Rank," *Memoirs of the Carbonari*, Appendix III, 198–202; and review of *Memoirs of the Secret Societies*, 597–600.

³³ "Catechism for the Second Grade," *Carbonari* constitution, Saint-Edme, *Constitution et organisation des Carbonari*, 62–80; catechism for the second grade in the Ionian Isles annexed to Dolce report, Milan, Feb. 19, 1819, AS [Milan], *Presidenza di governo. Atti segreti*, 1819, Cart. XXIII, No. 45/geh., Annex K.

³⁴ See also Wit von Döring, *Fragmente aus meinem Leben*, 32–33.

master *Carbonari* were told that Christ Himself was the original *Carbonaro* and that His Twelve Apostles were the first *Carbonari* after Him. The aim was obviously not to make good Christians, but to turn good Christians into good *Carbonari*!

The above explanation of the symbolism in the ritual for the second grade, however, was apparently not made in all the *Carbonari* lodges. During the trial of the Macerata conspirators in 1818 the papal authorities discovered a catechism and other papers pertaining to the master *Carbonari* in the Marches that demonstrated how in at least some of the most radical *vendite* in central Italy the masters were told that the aim of the *Carbonari* was to destroy tyrannical governments. The cross used during the initiation ceremony for the second grade, they were instructed, was to serve "to crucify the tyrant in the same manner in which our G[ood] C[arbonaro] C[ousin] G[rand] M[aster] o[f the] U[niverse] was crucified." The crown of thorns was "to pierce his head." The lance was "to penetrate his breast and shed the impure blood that flows in his veins," while the hatchet "will cut his head from his body" just as it would that "of the wolf which disturbs our peaceful labors," "the furnace will burn his body," and the "shovel will scatter his ashes to the wind." Last, and perhaps most important of all, the trunk signified "that after the grand operation we will all become equal to the G[rand] M[aster]." ³⁵

The Austrian police in Italy managed to gain possession of still another *Carbonari* manuscript, this one coming from the Romagna, in which the explanations of the symbols made to the master *Carbonari* were similar to those given in the catechism uncovered in the Marches. In his summary of the accusations against the defendants in the Foresti trial—the first Austrian judicial process against the *Carbonari* in Italy—Austrian Judge Antonio Salvotti, who had read this document, asserted that it was clear that the master *Carbonari* were no longer imbued with "sentiments of virtue and respect for the law," as the apprentices were, but, on the contrary, were indoctrinated with the idea that they "must cooperate in the destruction of tyrants and despots—the unceasing object of the labors of the members." ³⁶

Even in the most radical *Carbonari* lodges, however, the innermost secrets of the order might have been revealed only to the members of the higher grades. In all probability, at the outset the *Carbonari* had just two grades. ³⁷

³⁵ "Catechism for the Master," *Carbonari* regulations, Luzio, *Il Processo Pellico-Maroncelli*, Appendix IV, 328–29; "Explanation of the Symbols" in the "Discourse Extracted from the Papers Found upon the Conspirators of Macerata, 1817," *Memoirs of the Carbonari*, 32–33.

³⁶ Salvotti's summary of the accusations against the defendants in the Foresti process, as printed in Luzio, *Il Processo Pellico-Maroncelli*, Appendix IV, 330.

³⁷ The anonymous author of the *Memoirs of the Carbonari* related that the general doctrine of the order mentioned only two, and only two were referred to in the *Carbonari* constitution and regulations discovered in the Macerata process, which were published in full by Luzio.

However, for greater caution others were soon devised.³⁸ By the early 1820's there were apparently between seven and nine grades. The well-versed conspirator and later police informer, Wit von Döring, maintained that the *Carbonari* had seven grades and that the final aims of the society, which were the same as those of the Illuminati—to “destroy every positive religion and every form of government, whether unlimited despotism or democracy”—were revealed only to the members of the last grade.³⁹ Salvotti felt convinced that the organization had eight grades.⁴⁰ Giuseppe Mazzini belonged to six grades and thought that there were three more.⁴¹

Unfortunately practically no records are available for the higher grades. I have seen only the initiation ceremony and ritual for the opening of the meetings for the grand elect grand masters, which are printed in full in M. Saint-Edme; the oath taken by the members of this grade, as published by Filippo Antonio Gualterio;⁴² an unpublished catechism for the grade of perfect master found in the *Archivio di Stato* in Venice;⁴³ and a few police reports in which vague references were made to the costumes, symbols, passwords, and supposed aims of certain higher grades.

According to the section in the *Carbonari* constitution printed in Saint-Edme dealing with the grade of grand elect grand master, which he definitely believed was the third *Carbonari* grade, this rank was to be conferred only on master *Carbonari* well known for their “sagacity, unalterable zeal, unlimited courage,” and proven devotion to the principles of the order, who

³⁸ Saint-Edme printed the initiation ceremony and the lengthy ritual followed at the meetings of a third grade, the grand elect grand masters. (For the complete text, see his *Constitution et organisation des Carbonari*, 94–159.) The author of the *Memoirs of the Carbonari* (see p. 33) also related that he had received a pamphlet in which the mode of operation and initiation ceremony for a third grade were described. On March 27, 1818, Sedlnitzky wrote Strassoldo from Vienna that the *Carbonari* had a fourth grade, the members of which “profess the political maxims of liberty and equality and solemnly engage themselves to devote all possible efforts to make its principles dominant in Italy.” (AS [Milan], *Presidenza di governo. Atti segreti*, 1818, Cart. XXI, No. 83/geh.)

³⁹ Wit von Döring, *Fragmente aus meinem Leben*, 33–34.

⁴⁰ Salvotti listed these grades as (1) apprentice, (2) master, (3) grand master, (4) deputy to the grand master of equality, (5) assistant to the grand master of equality, (6) first companion of the grand master of equality, (7) high light, and (8) grand patriarch. (See his summary of the accusations against the defendants in the Foresti process, as reproduced in Luzio, *Il Processo Pellico-Maroncelli*, Appendix IV, 329–30.) Angelo Ottolini, who believes that there were nine grades, has described them as follows: (1) apprentices, (2) masters, (3) cavaliers of Thebes, (4) disciples, (5) apostles, (6) evangelists, (7) patriarchs, (8) archpatriarchs, and (9) most powerful archpatriarch. (See his *La Carboneria dalle origini ai primi tentativi insurrezionali (1797–1817)*, in *Collezione storica del Risorgimento italiano*, XVI [Modena, 1936], 112 n.) Other writers have given still other names to the higher ranks that they believed existed. This confusion stems in part from the fact that various *Carbonari* groups changed names or fused with other secret societies.

⁴¹ Rinieri, *Della Vita e delle Opere di Silvio Pellico*, II, 7.

⁴² In Filippo Antonio Gualterio, *Gli ultimi rivolgimenti italiani. Memorie storiche, con documenti inediti* (4 vols., Florence, 1850–51), I, Document IV, 5–6.

⁴³ Enclosed in Sedlnitzky to Count Karl Borromäus Inzaghi, Vienna, Feb. 28, 1821, *Archivio di Stato*, Venice [hereafter cited as AS [Venice]], *Presidio di governo*, 1821, No. 276/g.p.

stood ever ready "to fight against tyrannical governments."⁴⁴ When the blindfolded candidate for membership in this grade was initiated, he entered the secret grotto in which the ceremony took place, together with two other persons who played the part of the two thieves who were crucified with Christ. The presiding officer condemned the two supposed thieves to death on the cross for having revealed the existence of their sect to the enemy and ordered that their entrails and heart be cut out and burnt into ashes and that their body be cut into pieces and scattered over several highways. At the presiding officer's command, the two thieves were affixed to their respective crosses.

After the blindfolded initiate witnessed this awesome spectacle, he took a solemn oath to employ every moment of his existence to promoting "the principles of liberty, equality, and hatred of tyranny that are the essence of all the secret and public actions of the respectable *Carbonari*."⁴⁵ Then he was bound to a cross between the two thieves, and the mysterious brand signifying that he had been admitted to the secrets of the order was imprinted upon his left breast.

The president admonished the initiate that he would suffer a prompt and cruel death if he ever violated his oath, after which he delivered a short discourse on the revolution that was expected to break out at any moment in Italy and Europe. Before he completed his speech, German soldiers broke into the grotto and launched a violent attack on the *Carbonari*. After a few minutes of simulated bloody fighting, the *Carbonari* emerged victorious, shouting, "Victory! Death to tyrants! Long live the Republic of Ausonia! Long live liberty! Long live equality!" After witnessing all these dramatic happenings from the cross, the candidate was finally taken down and led to the throne, where, after being warned again about the dire punishment that lay in store for traitors, he was pronounced a grand elect grand master *Carbonaro* in the name of "the Grand Architect of the Universe."⁴⁶

The unpublished catechism for the grade of perfect master, dated Naples, 1820, which I discovered in the *Archivio di Stato* in Venice, indicates that the members of this grade referred to each other as cavaliers of Thebes and that they dedicated themselves to avenging the death of the "Grand Master *Carbonaro*" by slaying his assassins, Caesar, Herod, and Judas. Caesar had killed the "Grand Master *Carbonaro*," the perfect masters were told, because he feared that the true moral principles which Christ was preaching would take

⁴⁴ See *Carbonari* constitution, Saint-Edme, *Constitution et organisation des Carbonari*, 93-94.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 110; Gualterio, *Gli ultimi rivolgimenti italiani*, I, Document IV, 5-6.

⁴⁶ For the initiation rites for grand elect grand masters, see "Ceremony for the Reception to the Last *Carbonari* Grade of Grand Elect Grand Master," *Carbonari* constitution, Saint-Edme, *Constitution et organisation des Carbonari*, 141-59.

away his empire from him; Herod, because the proselytization of Christ's true religion would destroy his own idolatrous cult; and Judas, because he wanted money. Assisted by the Divine Father, appearing under the form of "Delta," the cavaliers of Thebes worked in a "sublime chamber" in a subterranean grotto, which was illuminated by the sun, or the light that Christ spread over the whole earth by means of His religion, and sought to get ready to avenge "the Grand Master *Carbonaro's*" Crucifixion by slaying those who had killed Him.⁴⁷ Does one have to stretch his imagination too far to conjecture that Christ's murderers, Caesar, Herod, and Judas, perchance symbolized ambitious tyrants, false priests, and avaricious persons likely to amass wealth?

What do all the jargon and mystical symbolism dealing with the initiation ritual and catechism of the various *Carbonari* grades signify as far as the political aims of the *Carbonari* were concerned? From the first two grades one finds very few clues in answer to this question. In the first grade nearly all the talk, much of it in the symbolic language of the medieval charcoal burners and vendors who most *Carbonari* believed were the real founders of their society, was about virtue, leading man back to his original goodness, the need for charity, the perfection of the human spirit and civil society, and the teachings of the "true philosophy" as revealed in the language of nature. At least in the more moderate and conservative lodges the catechism of the second grade was wholly concerned with religious symbolism, and the initiation ceremony was a re-enactment of Christ's Crucifixion. The aim was to teach the neophyte *Carbonaro* that he needed to endure difficult trials and make painful sacrifices for the *Carbonari* cause, just as Christ had.⁴⁸ Perhaps more important, the absolute necessity to keep the secrets of the society inviolate was impressed upon the initiates in the awe-inspiring oath solemnly taken by the members of both grades. Nonetheless, the teachings of the first two grades indicate little more than that the *Carbonari* were an organization similar to the Freemasons, designed to appeal to the pro-Catholic Italian masses.⁴⁹

It has been asserted that the real aims of the *Carbonari* were revealed only in the higher grades. If this is actually true, the only two important docu-

⁴⁷ Catechism for the grade of perfect master, dated Naples, 1820, enclosed in Sedlnitzky to Inzaghi, Vienna, Feb. 28, 1821, AS [Venice], *Presidio di governo*, 1821, No. 276/g.p.

⁴⁸ See also Lamberto Chiarelli, "Un opuscolo Carbonaro del 1820," *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, XVI (July-Sept. 1929), 555-57, 572; "General Idea of the Order," *Carbonari* statutes, Spadoni, *Sette, cospirazioni e cospiratori nello stato pontificio*, 15-18; Art. 2, *Carbonari* statutes, *ibid.*, 18; *Carbonari* constitution of the Ionian Isles, annexed to Dolce report, Milan, Feb. 19, 1819, AS [Milan], *Presidenza di governo. Atti segreti*, 1819, Cart. XXIII, No. 45/geh., Annex A; "Notices in regard to the *Carbonari*, especially in the Kingdom of Naples," *ibid.*, 1817, Cart. XVI, ad No. 890/geh.; and Ninno, *Filadelfi e Carbonari di Bari*, 18.

⁴⁹ See also Chiarelli, "Un opuscolo Carbonaro del 1820," 557; and Leti, *Carboneria e Massoneria*, 75.

ments dealing with these ranks that I have seen would indicate that every *Carbonaro* was imbued with a fervent zeal to destroy all tyrants, priests, and other enemies of the people in order to turn Italy into a united democratic republic, with a radical Jacobin egalitarian social order. This is obviously not the case as far as the great majority of *Carbonari* were concerned.

The truth seems to be that there was never a single *Carbonari* political program, but that there were several. It appears that there were always enough vagueness in the political objectives of the organization as a whole and sufficient allowance for freedom of thought within such a program as existed to make it possible for good liberals—and Carbonarism was a “liberal movement”—to come to different conclusions in regard to the ideal form of government to establish in Italy. Furthermore, the political attitudes of the *Carbonari* were strongly affected by external political events. During the early years after their founding the *Carbonari* were appreciably influenced by four strong political currents in southern Italy: French, British, Bourbon, and Muratist. A short time later, after they spread through much of the Apennine Peninsula, their proposed aims and courses of action were modified by the policies of the moment followed by the various restored governments in different parts of Italy.

Then, too, one must not forget that a society with as large a membership as the *Carbonari* had its share of opportunists. Some joined in the hope of obtaining public employment. Others believed that they could make profitable business, professional, or political connections by belonging to the organization. Still others became associated with the sect out of fear of incurring the enmity of their more radical neighbors, acquaintances, and friends if they did not affiliate. Undeniably this group was inclined to be rather indifferent to all particular political programs and usually favored whatever political current seemed to spell “success” at any given moment.⁵⁰

It is, of course, readily apparent that, except for some of the rank opportunists who joined the sect, the one common political goal unanimously professed and upheld by every *Carbonaro* was to give unity, liberty, and independence to the Italian people and to expel all foreigners, whether French or Austrians, from the Apennine Peninsula. This universally proclaimed objective of the society may be looked upon as its minimum program.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Saurau to Sedlnitzky, Milan, Sept. 1, 1817, AS [Milan], *Presidenza di governo. Atti segreti*, 1817, Cart. XVI, No. 890/geh.; Inzaghi to president of the Lombard government, Venice, Oct. 4, 1820, *ibid.*, 1820, Cart. XXV, No. 1000/geh.; testimony given by Pietro Castellano on Dec. 14, 1817, in the Macerata process, as quoted in Rinieri, “Le sette in Italia dopo la restaurazione del 1814,” 12–13; Leti, *Carboneria e Massoneria*, 75–77; Gino Bandini, *Giornali e scritti politici clandestini della Carboneria romagnola (1819–21)*, in *Biblioteca storica del Risorgimento italiano*, Ser. V, No. 8 (Rome, 1908), 14, 17; “Relation about the *Carbonari* Sect, Its Divisions, and Other Sects Related to It,” as quoted *ibid.*, 18–19.

⁵¹ Among other sources, see “Notices about the *Carbonari*,” Florence, June 1817, annexed to Saurau to Sedlnitzky, Milan, Sept. 1, 1817, AS [Milan], *Presidenza di governo. Atti segreti*,

The next most frequently expressed aim was to provide the united Italy with some form of constitutional government. This objective, however, was left vague enough so that it could be differently interpreted by divergent *Carbonari* groups in various regions of the peninsula. The more conservative *Carbonari* and most of the moderates, particularly in Naples, were fully willing to settle for a monarchical form of government, provided that the sovereign's powers were limited by constitutional guarantees to protect the liberties of the people and to guarantee that the "citizens" would also have some share in the government. A few of the promonarchist adherents of the sect, as well as some of the radicals, wanted the new Italian national state to be organized on a unitary basis. The large majority, however, wished for a federal state or a confederation of the existing political units in the peninsula.⁵²

It is obvious, however, that there were other *Carbonari* who were not content with establishing a limited monarchy in the new Italian state. The explanation of the symbolism for the second grade in the *Carbonari* catechism in the Marches, the Romagnese *Carbonari* manuscript sent to the Habsburg police, the ritual for the third grade published by Saint-Edme, and the catechism for the perfect masters that I found in the Venetian archives show that the main aim of some of the *Carbonari* was to destroy tyrants and to overthrow absolutist governments.⁵³ It is apparent that the *Carbonari* belonging to these grades and lodges were strongly opposed to every kind of monarchical government. The most radical wing of the *Carbonari* society and probably the members of the upper grades dedicated themselves to liquidating all existing governments and to establishing a republican regime in the united Italy that they aspired to create. The political program of a large number of this group was probably the one contained in the social constitutional pact of the Ausonian Republic,⁵⁴ which was incorporated in the ritual of the grade of grand elect grand master.

1817, Cart. XVI, ad No. 890/geh.; *Memoirs of Felice Foresti*, 2; Ninno, *La Setta dei Carbonari in Bari*, 10; Rinieri, *Della Vita e delle Opere di Silvio Pellico*, II, 4; Marcolongo, "Le origini della Carboneria," 245, 259; and Bandini, *Giornali e scritti politici clandestini della Carboneria romagnola*, 13-14.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 14-17, 21, 26; "Organic Project for Italy," as published *ibid.*, 250-53; Inzaghi to president of the Lombard government, Venice, Oct. 4, 1820, AS [Milan], *Presidenza di governo. Atti segreti*, 1820, Cart. XXV, No. 1000/geh.; *Memoirs of Felice Foresti*, 2; Marcolongo, "Le origini della Carboneria," 260-61; Leti, *Carboneria e Massoneria*, 75.

⁵³ In addition, see also Salvotti report, July 18, 1821, Cesare Cantù, "Il Conciliatore. Episodio del liberalismo lombardo," *Archivio storico italiano*, 3d Ser., XXIII (1876), 485; "General Idea of the Order," *Carbonari* statutes, Spadoni, *Sette, cospirazioni e cospiratori nello stato pontificio*, 15; "Catechism and Explanation of the Symbolic Emblem of the *Carbonari*," Rinieri, "Le sette in Italia dopo la restaurazione del 1814," 42; speech made to the third grade *Carbonari* as given in the pamphlet sent to the author of *Memoirs of the Carbonari* and published *ibid.*, 34-44; and Orloff, *Mémoires sur le royaume de Naples*, II, 422.

⁵⁴ See also Bandini, *Giornali e scritti politici clandestini della Carboneria romagnola*, 13, 14, 15, 18; and Marcolongo, "Le origini della Carboneria," 245, 249-50.

This curious constitution outlined the type of republican and federal regime that various *Carbonari* extremists intended to establish in the Apennine Peninsula, the former territories of the Venetian Republic, and those islands in the Adriatic and the Mediterranean that were located within one hundred miles of the Italian coast, all of which were to be under a single government. Ausonia was to be divided into twenty-one provinces, each of which was to have its own national assembly to make laws that were to be in accord with the habits, customs, and needs of the people living in the province. Each province was to send one deputy to the sovereign central assembly, which would pass general legislation for the republic as a whole. The executive power of the Ausonian Republic was to be wielded by two kings, one of whom was called the "king of the sea," and the other, the "king of the land," who were to exercise their powers jointly and who were elected for a term of ten years. All citizens of the republic were to have equal rights and were to be eligible for election to public office. Also, they were all to serve in the regular army or navy between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five and were then to be in the national guard until they reached the ripe age of sixty-four. The Christian religion was to be restored to its pristine purity and to be declared the religion of the majority of Ausonians. All clergy were to be elected by the citizens themselves, and their salaries were to be paid by the state. A system of progressive taxes, varying from one-seventh to six-sevenths of a person's income, was to be instituted, and all feudal privileges and hereditary titles were to be abolished.⁵⁵

The Ausonian constitution reveals that some of the more radical *Carbonari* were imbued, not only with democratic and republican sentiments, but also with anticlerical and egalitarian predilections. That some of the ultra-radicals in the society also held egalitarian views similar to those of the Left-wing Jacobins of the French Revolution is indicated by the language employed in some of the *Carbonari* rituals and statutes that have been published. At meetings of the grand elect grand masters the orator regularly made a speech in which he gave a Rousseaulike description of the original goodness and virtue of mankind before the institution of private property was invented.⁵⁶ In the general explanation of the organization's aims in the *Carbonari* statutes published by Domenico Spadoni⁵⁷ members were informed that the state of felicity and happiness prevailing during primitive times

⁵⁵ See the complete text of the social constitutional pact of the Ausonian Republic as published in Saint-Edme, *Constitution et organisation des Carbonari*, 112–37. The most significant articles of this constitution can also be found in Gualterio, *Gli ultimi rivolgimenti italiani*, I, 6–11.

⁵⁶ See "Opening of the *Vendita* to the Grade of Grand Elect," *Carbonari* statutes, Saint-Edme, *Constitution et organisation des Carbonari*, 99–100.

⁵⁷ Spadoni, *Sette, cospirazioni e cospiratori nello stato pontificio*, 15.

ceased when the citizen chosen to lead the people oppressed them and eliminated equality. Judge Salvotti maintained that the catechism of the third grade, which he had read, clearly revealed that the grand masters promised to devote all their efforts to promoting the enactment of "agrarian laws, without which there can be no liberty, since private property is an outrage against the rights of the human race."⁵⁸

It is obvious, therefore, that the *Carbonari* were not a tightly knit group with a single program. Although the little documentary evidence available is too contradictory to enable historians to make definitive judgments, it tends to support the conjecture that, apart from their strong nationalism, the *Carbonari* had varying political views ranging from those generally held by early nineteenth-century moderate liberals to those of the ultraradicals of the French Revolution.

That being the case, a historian can well question whether the society was actually as dangerous a threat to the *status quo* as Metternich and other conservatives feared. It is true that within the different regions of the Apennine Peninsula the *Carbonari* established a well-integrated hierarchical system to control the subordinate *vendite* in the area; had a sizable income of their own based on fines, initiation fees, and regular monthly dues and extraordinary contributions levied on its members;⁵⁹ instituted a regular system for trying and punishing members accused of violating *Carbonari* moral and disciplinary regulations;⁶⁰ and devised special secret codes for carrying on correspondence.⁶¹ Also, it cannot be denied that the *Carbonari* had a large membership in Italy. Estimates of their size on the eve of the 1820 revolution

⁵⁸ Salvotti report, July 18, 1821, as published in part in Cantù, "Il Conciliatore," 486, and in full in Luzio, *Il Processo Pellico-Maroncelli*, Appendix IV, 330.

⁵⁹ See esp. "Regulations and Privileges of the Supreme Lodge or *Alta Vendita* at Naples," *Memoirs of the Carbonari*, 203-205; Arts. 83-133, 189-209, 283-92, *Carbonari* statutes, Luzio, *Il Processo Pellico-Maroncelli*, Appendix IV, 291-96, 303-306, 314-15 (also in Spadoni, *Sette, cospirazioni e cospiratori nello stato pontificio*, 27-33, 40-43, 51); Art. 14 of the *Carbonari* constitution of the Ionian Isles enclosed in Dolce report, Milan, Feb. 19, 1819, AS [Milan], *Presidenza di governo. Atti segreti*, 1819, Cart. XXIII, No. 45/geh., Annex A; and anon. letter from Rome, July 12, 1819, Saint-Edme, *Constitution et organisation des Carbonari*, 197.

⁶⁰ See esp. Arts. 210-74, *Carbonari* statutes, Luzio, *Il Processo Pellico-Maroncelli*, Appendix IV, 306-13 (also in Spadoni, *Sette, cospirazioni e cospiratori nello stato pontificio*, 43-50); and Arts. 15-16 of the *Carbonari* constitution of the Ionian Isles, enclosed in Dolce report, Milan, Feb. 19, 1819, AS [Milan], *Presidenza di governo. Atti segreti*, 1819, Cart. XXIII, No. 45/geh., Annex A.

⁶¹ Arts. 186-88, *Carbonari* statutes, Luzio, *Il Processo Pellico-Maroncelli*, Appendix IV, 303 (also in Spadoni, *Sette, cospirazioni e cospiratori nello stato pontificio*, 39). For specimens of these cipher codes, see "Cipher Used for Writing by *Carbonari* of the First Two Grades," Mariutti, *Organismo ed azione delle società segrete del veneto*, Appendix XVII, 176; "Interpretation of the Initial Letters of the *Carbonari* Diploma," *ibid.*, 176-77; the *Carbonaro-Guelph* catechisms enclosed in Sedlnitzky to Strassoldo, Vienna, Feb. 28, 1818, AS [Milan], *Presidenza di governo. Atti segreti*, 1818, Cart. XXI, No. 61/geh.; the explanation of the model passport and *Carbonaro* decree enclosed *ibid.*; and the *Carbonaro-Guelph* catechism supposedly used in the Ionian Isles enclosed in Dolce report, Milan, Feb. 19, 1819, *ibid.*, 1819, Cart. XXIII, No. 45/geh., Annex N.

ran between 300,000 and 642,000 members.⁶² Nonetheless, it must be remembered that over half of the *Carbonari* were in the kingdom of Naples alone⁶³ and that when a revolution broke out in that kingdom in 1820 the *Carbonari* in other parts of Italy did little to help them, while those in Naples proved their utter incapability to work with other liberals to establish an effective constitutional government.⁶⁴ After the revolution ended in failure the *Carbonari* rapidly lost ground.

It must not be forgotten that the *Carbonari* were only one of numerous sects that honeycombed the Apennine Peninsula: Reformed European Patriots, *Decisi*, Republican Brother Protectors, Society of the Black Pin, *Cald'erari*, *Sanfedisti*, *Concistoriali*, *Federati*, Guelphs, and *Adelfi*, to name but a few. In northern Italy some of these groups, especially the Guelphs, the *Federati*, and the *Adelfi*, were much more of a menace to Habsburg interests than the *Carbonari*. Over and above these conspiratorial groups stood the Perfect Sublime Masters, which were organized by the intriguer, Filippo Michele Buonarroti, whom Elizabeth Eisenstein has referred to as "the first professional revolutionist,"⁶⁵ for the express purpose of becoming a superior directing society to control all the secret sects, not only in Italy but in all Europe, and use them to establish a democratic republic and to realize the principles of Rousseau's *Social Contract* and perhaps those of the Babeuf conspiracy.⁶⁶

Thus, it seems reasonable to say that the *Carbonari* plus all the other secret societies in Italy did constitute enough of a genuine menace to Habsburg interests fully to justify Metternich's great fears about the danger of the clandestine conspiratorial groups that flourished in the Apennine Peninsula. Except in Naples, however, the *Carbonari* alone represented no great threat to the *status quo* in Italy or to Habsburg rule.

⁶² Uccellini, *Memorie di un vecchio carbonaro ravennano*, 8; Ninno, *La Setta dei Carbonari in Bari*, 12; Rinieri, *Della Vita e delle Opere di Silvio Pellico*, 14.

⁶³ Ninno, *La Setta dei Carbonari in Bari*, 12.

⁶⁴ The standard account in English of the 1820-1821 revolution in Naples is George T. Romani, *The Neapolitan Revolution of 1820-1821* (Evanston, Ill., 1950).

⁶⁵ See Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The First Professional Revolutionist: Filippo Michele Buonarroti (1761-1837). A Biographical Essay* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959).

⁶⁶ For the aims of the Perfect Sublime Masters, see *ibid.*, 36, 39; Lehning, "Buonarroti and His International Secret Societies," 123-25; Wit von Döring, *Fragmente aus meinem Leben*, 24; constitution of the Perfect Sublime Masters, n.d., enclosed in Duke of Modena to Metternich, Mar. 24, 1822, SA [Vienna], *Staatskanzlei, Provinzen*, 1816-22, Fasz. XXXVI, fol. 125; excerpts from the interrogation of Alessandro Andryane, Rinieri, *Della Vita e delle Opere di Silvio Pellico*, II, 48; and Lombardo-Venetian Senate to Emperor Francis, Verona, Aug. 27, 1823, Augusto Sandonà, *Contributo alla storia dei processi del ventuno e dello Spielberg. Dagli atti ufficiali segreti degli archivi di Stato di Vienna e dal carteggio dell'imperatore Francesco I co'suoi ministri e col presidente del Senato Lombardo-Veneto del Tribunale supremo di Giustizia (1821-1838)* (Turin, 1911), 185-87.

Brooks Adams and American Nationalism

CHARLES HIRSCHFELD*

MANY contradictory labels have been applied to Brooks Adams: rebel with a "passion for social justice," absolute authoritarian, "pseudo-progressive," "constructive conservative," "prophet and reformer," "strategist of *Realpolitik*," "Jeffersonian Jacksonian Bryanian Democrat," "neo-Hamiltonian" aristocrat, early Left-wing New Dealer, proto-Fascist.¹ The contradictions have arisen, in part, from the attempt to label precisely ideas varying in time and substance to the point of inconsistency, often expressed as paradoxes, and shot through with hyperbole, or from trying to pin down an erratic man who carried the defects of his family's virtues to the *n*th degree, who, in R. P. Blackmur's words, "tended to leap ahead of the logic that carried him along," and whose arrogant, eccentric brilliance at once fascinated, bewildered, and repelled his contemporaries as it seems to have done ours.²

For the most part, however, the confusion has stemmed from trying to classify Adams' social thought in the old liberal-conservative categories and fix it on the Right-Left spectrum. Clinton Rossiter and Daniel Aaron have plausibly tried to fight paradox with paradox: they have seen Adams as a conservative at heart who advocated a radical program of reform. But even this conclusion has merely united the opposites in some aberrant suspension and missed the organic unity of his thought.³

Brooks Adams' mature views, it is the contention of this paper, were neither essentially conservative nor liberal (though sharing something of

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¹ Vernon L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought* (3 vols. in 1, New York, 1927-30), III, 227, 235; Perry Miller, "Introduction," in *American Thought: Civil War to World War I* (New York, 1954), xli, xlii, xlii; Daniel Aaron, *Men of Good Hope* (New York, 1951), 245, 252, 255; Thornton Anderson, *Brooks Adams, Constructive Conservative* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1951), 2-3, 207; Theodore Roosevelt, review of Brooks Adams, *The Law of Civilization and Decay: An Essay on History*, in *Forum*, XXII (Jan. 1897), 575; *The Letters of Henry Adams, 1892-1918*, ed. Worthington C. Ford (Boston, 1938), 284; Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), 270-72; Charles A. Madison, *Critics and Crusaders* (New York, 1947), 307; Arthur F. Beringause, *Brooks Adams: A Biography* (New York, 1955), 371.

² William F. Dowling, "The Political Thought of a Generation of Adamses," doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1950, 165; R. P. Blackmur, "Henry and Brooks Adams: Parallels to Two Generations," *Southern Review*, V (No. 2, 1939), 309.

³ Clinton Rossiter, *Conservatism in America* (New York, 1955), 166; Aaron, *Men of Good Hope*, 252. Rossiter thinks that Brooks's program must have troubled him: there is not even a hint that such was the case.

both qualities), but transcended these conventional categories. They constituted rather an emergent ideology that reflected a new stage in American development at home and abroad. From the turn of the century on, Adams was a nationalist of a new variety, a "realistic" advocate of the expansion of American power in the world at the same time he pressed for radical reforms in American society and politics. The juxtaposition of the two policies is not itself the point. The crux of the matter is that Adams integrated his views in these two spheres, foreign and domestic. He believed that the American drive for world supremacy could succeed only if the necessary domestic changes, in the direction of the centralized, collectivist state, were made, and vice versa. Both were for him two sides of the same coin whose essential and ultimate value was American power in a world of conflict.

This view of Adams' thought distinguishes him from the "idealistic" internationalists and orthodox reformers as well as from both conservative and liberal isolationists. It puts him, among his contemporaries, in a class with Theodore Roosevelt and Herbert Croly, and, subsequently, relates him to the increasingly nationalist strain in American politics, where the distinction between foreign and domestic affairs has tended to break down in a dynamic universalism. His ideas thus foreshadowed the current American policy, perceptively defined by Walter Lippmann as one that began with TR and whose purpose has been (and is) "to reform and advance our own social order and at the same time to recognize that we must live in a world beyond our frontiers." Lippmann underlined the irrelevance of the traditional labels by describing this policy as at once "conservative, liberal, progressive."⁴

The texture of all Adams' thought was not consistent and mirrored the inner contradictions of his mind and character. He seemed to be playing two roles. In the one, he was the passive register of great forces, the automatic recorder of what history had ordained. In the other, he was the mind imposing order and meaning on the discrete facts of history.⁵ Again, intellectually, he was the cosmic determinist for whom all change was the result of universal natural forces. The end of the process, he insisted with perverse, brutal delight, was always catastrophe: revolution, anarchy, or war.⁶ It was as though he were elaborating a cosmic excuse for his failure to live up to his family's

⁴ Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations* (2d ed., New York, 1955), 126-28, 137, and *Dilemmas of Politics* (Chicago, 1958), 176; Walter Lippmann, "Conservative, Liberal, Progressive," *New Republic*, CXLVI (Jan. 22, 1962), 10-11.

⁵ B. Adams to Henry Adams, Aug. 17, 1896, cited in Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 61, Jan. 29, 1902, Feb. 3, 1903, Mar. 8, 1909; to Theodore Roosevelt, Apr. 26, 1896, cited in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 131-32, 233, 242, 312-13; B. Adams, *The Law of Civilization and Decay* (New York, 1955), 3 [first pub. in England in 1895].

⁶ See esp. B. Adams, *The Law*, preface; B. Adams to Henry Cabot Lodge, Jan. 24, 1887, to William James, Apr. 16, 1887, to Henry Adams, July 19, 1900, Jan. 29, 1902, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 82-83, 91, 93, 194, 233.

historic role, or taking his revenge on a world that did not understand him. Or perhaps, as David Riesman has suggested in the case of Thorstein Veblen, his "pessimistic predictions [may have been] efforts by naming the evils, to ward them off," that is, self-denying prophecies.⁷

But like many determinists, he was emotionally unable to accept the outcome of his intellectual analysis. He was therefore moved to active intervention in the process to prevent, or at least delay, its consummation. His inherited sense of duty, romantic bent, and a deep yearning for order and unity impelled him to this. Brooks Adams cared intensely and could not fall back in amused resignation like his brother Henry. Particularly since his own country, which he loved fiercely in his own fashion, was involved, he demanded positive action to overcome what his mind otherwise told him was inevitable.⁸ Thus, his aloofness was shattered, and the scientific observer became thoroughly engaged, as he cried, "I can't masquerade as a scholar seeking truth at the bottom of a well. I am dealing with all the burning questions of our time." His books, he admitted, were, for all their scholarly trappings, polemics for the occasion, written for the purpose of saving his country.⁹

And so Adams actively engaged in politics, pulled wires, published six books and over fifty articles, made speeches, taught law students for nine years, fought James J. Hill, the railroad colossus, and served in the constitutional convention of his own state—all the while sounding the alarm and exhorting his fellow Americans to act before it was too late. And all the while he was beset by doubts of the efficacy of his actions or any action at all. His friend, Theodore Roosevelt, caught this ambivalence in reporting a conversation with Brooks. "Underneath," the then governor of New York wrote, "he still looked forward with fiendish satisfaction to the enslavement of everybody by the Jews and other capitalists; but on the surface he allowed his fancy a moment's lurid play as to the possibility of my leading some great outburst of the emotional classes which should at least temporarily crush the Economic Man."¹⁰

Throughout most of his life, Adams seemed to alternate in manic depressive fashion between hope and despair, even managing to combine them

⁷ B. Adams, *The Law*, 4-5; *id.*, "The Heritage of Henry Adams," in Henry Adams, *The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma* (New York, 1920), 93; Perry Miller, "Introduction," in B. Adams, *The Emancipation of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1962), vii, viii, xxiv; David Riesman, *Thorstein Veblen, A Critical Interpretation* (New York, 1953), 124.

⁸ B. Adams to Henry Adams, Oct. 1, 1913, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 353; to Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., Mar. 9, 1913, in Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 158-59.

⁹ B. Adams to Lodge, May 7, 1894, to Henry Adams, June 30, 1895, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 110, 135; to Henry Adams, Feb. 3, 1903, in Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 70.

¹⁰ Roosevelt to John Hay, June 17, 1899, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, ed. E. E. Morison (8 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1951-54), II, 1021.

simultaneously. As Henry told him, he had always amused himself by making himself "miserable over the failings of the universe." Acutely conscious of the revolution that was transforming his world, he sometimes greeted the new age of mindless greed with jeremiads. He was the naysayer, tortured because he could not sell out and yet determined not to become "the jackal of the vested interests."¹¹ At other times, in euphoric outburst, he cried, "I am all for the new world . . . I go with it, electric cars, mobiles, plutocracy and all."¹² Such emotional oscillation was perhaps the counterpart of that mixture of percipience and "wet cotton-wooliness" with which he addressed his friends in strained argument, leaving them both stimulated and baffled.¹³

Such was the man, "with no peace in his soul," who in the 1870's and 1880's plunged into politics in the Adams tradition, tilting at the windmills of State Street. As a good Brahmin mugwump, he attacked the corruption and demagoguery of the dominant political machine and the consolidation of federal power as certain to lead to "the shifting despotism of naked majority rule." Positively, and with fine liberal optimism, he worked for good government, civil service, low taxes, and tariff reform as the solutions for the country's ills. His first book was as much a tract for liberty, for freedom of thought and expression, and a tirade against the narrow-minded conservatism of the Puritan theocracy as it was an illustration, as he claimed, of the mechanics of mind in society.¹⁴

Fortified by the conclusions of his further historical studies, Adams turned his animus against the "gold bugs," the captains of finance and industry of his own day. As he saw it, these avatars of greed had everywhere and inevitably triumphed in the unending struggle for survival. In the United States by the 1890's they had effected a "plutocratic revolution" and become masters of the country. Like their Roman and British prototypes, they were manipulating the currency to their own profit and the ruin of the American people to the point where revolution was inevitable. By their monopoly control of prices, these plutocrats had arrogated to themselves the sovereign powers

¹¹ Henry Adams to B. Adams, Jan. 30, 1910, in *Letters of Henry Adams*, ed. Ford, 532; Roosevelt to Lodge, Apr. 27, 1899, in *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, ed. Morison, II, 998; B. Adams to Roosevelt, Feb. 25, 1896, to Henry Adams, Nov. 26, 1899, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 209, 213.

¹² B. Adams to Henry Adams, Oct. 14, 1899, *ibid.*, 186; Oct. 13, 1901, in Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 85.

¹³ Henry Adams to Elizabeth Cameron, Apr. 9, 1900, Aug. 17, 1908, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 192, 305; Holmes to Frederick Pollock, May 25, 1906, in *The Correspondence of Mr. Justice Holmes and Sir Frederick Pollock*, ed. M. A. DeWolfe Howe (2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1941), I, 123.

¹⁴ Marian Adams to Edward Hooper, Apr. 16, 1882, in Dowling, "Political Thought of Adamsses," 165, 168-71; B. Adams, "The Platform of the New Party," *North American Review*, CXIX (July 1874), 33-60, and "Embryo of a Commonwealth," *Atlantic Monthly*, LIV (Nov.

of government. America was ruled by a rich and powerful minority, and the patrician Adams hated these vulgar money men as intensely as any good Populist.¹⁵

Brooks opposed the trusts with a program of "true conservatism," a middle course between plutocracy and socialism, as the only way to allay the violence of the agrarian crusade and stave off revolution. Favoring the mild inflation of bimetallism and tariff reform, he moved into the Democratic camp, but was disappointed with Cleveland. By 1896, he was eager to carry on the battle against the gold bugs.¹⁶

Dismayed and fascinated by the rising storm of the silver agitation and the prospect of revolution, he gave faltering support to the Democratic campaign. He worked for the party, but could not stomach Bryan. Now he was "all for the movement"; now he feared the chaos that would follow victory; now he was moaning that the cause was hopeless. Despair moved him to unrestrained vituperation of Wall Street, "the rotten, unsexed, swindling, lying Jews represented by J. P. Morgan and the gang which have been manipulating our country for the last four years." Defeat of "the first great organized revolt" against the usurers since Waterloo convinced him that their hold was unshakable and that a crack-up was inevitable, but he took some comfort from the fact that his theories had been proven sound. "He is," reported Roosevelt in 1897, ". . . simply revelling in gloom over the appalling social and civic disasters which he sees impending."¹⁷

The confused, desperate reformer, afflicted with murky visions of conspiracy and disaster, did not, however, abandon the assault on the plutocracy. In the spring of 1899, he was still trying to rally the Democrats, without Bryan and silver, against the trusts and their Republican henchmen. He urged the party to make the fight in 1900 on a platform of equal rights for all under the law, regulation of railroad rates, tariff reform, and expanded credit facilities, a program to give the American people relief from injustice and bring about "the subordination of the interests of consolidated capital

1884), 610-19; B. Adams, *The Emancipation of Massachusetts* [first published in 1887]; Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 55-66, 78-79.

¹⁵ B. Adams to Henry Adams, May 6, 1892, in Dowling, "Political Thought of Adamsses," 181; B. Adams, "The Gold Standard," *Fortnightly Review*, New Ser., LVI (Aug. 1894), 242-62; *The Law*, *passim*, esp. 284-87 (the book seethes with hatred for the dominant "Economic Man"); Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 98; Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 46.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*; Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 139.

¹⁷ B. Adams to Henry Adams, June 19, 24, 1895, Aug. 17, 1896, in Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 51, 60-61; July 12, Oct. 10, 1896, in Dowling, "Political Thought of Adamsses," 183, 186-87; Apr. 22, July 19, 26, Aug. 25, Sept. 6, Nov. 24, 1896, Jan. 6, 1897, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 144, 149, 152, 153, 155; Henry Adams to Elizabeth Cameron, July 27, Aug. 4, 1896, in *Letters of Henry Adams*, ed. Ford, 109, 114; Roosevelt to Hay, May 3, 1897, June 17, 1899; to Lodge, Apr. 27, 1899, in *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, ed. Morison, I, 609, II, 998, 1021.

to the interests of the whole community." He even made, as we have seen, a desperate appeal to Roosevelt to lead the crusade.¹⁸

Shortly thereafter, Adams plumped for McKinley, imperialism, and the trusts.¹⁹ This startling reversal had been brought on gradually by his increasing concern for the perilous flux of the international situation. Brooks and Henry, in a long epistolary discussion, had concluded that, from the crisis of 1893 on, the old order had been disintegrating, the world moving from one crisis to another, and civilization rocking on the edge of disaster. The unstable equilibrium had unleashed an intense struggle among the nations for new markets and raw materials. The pressure had pushed the United States into the race, and this American expansionist drive had, in turn, intensified the competition. The upshot had been, Brooks was certain, that the center of gravity and the seat of empire had shifted across the Atlantic: the Spanish-American War and the surging American imperialism signalized the victory of the United States.²⁰

Brooks was swept up in the wave of nationalism, martial spirit, and imperialism. The American victories thrilled him. Imperialism, the "noblest passion to inflame the human mind," could not be carried out fast and far enough for him. His country was on the road to world dominion, and he was all for it, exultantly, brutally. For American economic expansion was the solution, where silver had perforce failed, that would stave off anarchy for a time. And the gold bugs had done it all, with their skill and determination in reorganizing American industry into giant trusts and using the resultant economies of production to undersell Europe and dominate the world markets.²¹

And so Adams was forced out of the Democratic party, as he said, because it would not drop Bryan and his standpat policy on imperialism and the trusts. The Republican party, by contrast (he was certain), was riding the wave of the future, and Brooks became, in Henry's sardonic exaggeration,

¹⁸ B. Adams to Perry Belmont, Mar. 26, 1899, in Perry Belmont, *The Recollections of an American Democrat* (New York, 1940), 466-68.

¹⁹ Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 83; Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 212, 213.

²⁰ B. Adams to Henry Adams, Dec. 23, 1895, in Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 58; Mar. 26, 1898, Oct. 14, Nov. 12, 1899, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 164, 186, 188; to editor, *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 23, 1898, *ibid.*, 212; B. Adams, *America's Economic Supremacy* (New York, 1947), 63, 86-87, 134-35. This book, first published in 1900, comprised articles published between 1898 and 1900. Henry Adams to B. Adams, June 11, Oct. 23, 1897, Mar. 5, 1898; to Elizabeth Cameron, Dec. 31, 1897, Mar. 6, Apr. 10, 1898; to Ford, Nov. 26, 1898, in *Letters of Henry Adams*, ed. Ford, 129, 134, 140, 153, 164, 194, 195; to B. Adams, July 6, 1898, in *Henry Adams and His Friends*, ed. Harold D. Cater (Boston, 1947), 442.

²¹ B. Adams to Henry Adams, May 22, 1898, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 164; interview in *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 19, 1898, *ibid.*, 172; B. Adams to Henry Adams, Oct. 13, 1901, in Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 85; Holmes to Pollock, June 9, 1898, in *Holmes-Pollock Correspondence*, ed. Howe, I, 87; B. Adams, "Art in America," *American Architect*, LXIV (June 3, 1899), 77-78, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 179; B. Adams, *America's Economic Supremacy*, 89, 103-105, 130, 133, 170.

the most rabid of gold bugs.²²

But reform was not forgotten. While foreign affairs were, for the moment, most pressing, they were, he observed, "but the reflex of domestic conditions. The two are halves of a whole, they cannot be dissociated."²³ The new critical pre-eminence of the United States made it all the more imperative that domestic conditions be reformed. If anything, Brooks became more radical in his proposals. The direction and tasks of reform, however, had changed. It was brought under "the wide arch of ranged empire" and placed in the service of an aggressive nationalism fanned by the stresses of mounting international tension. The patrician liberal reformer who hated the plutocrats had turned into a nationalist progressive.

The exigencies of successful expansion, Adams argued in books and articles between 1898 and 1903, required and justified the process of economic concentration. He chided his fellow Republicans for being apologetic about the trusts, which were, indeed, the basis of American prosperity, the highest type of administrative efficiency, "the cornerstone of modern civilization," and, in any case, inevitable. True, he admitted, they might sometimes be oppressive in practice, but in form they were eminently beneficial.²⁴

This economic revolution or movement toward collectivism, Adams insisted, required in turn a political revolution of the first order. The American people must scrap their antiquated political system and create an efficient, centralized, national administration that could act on behalf of the national interest. "If . . . we enter into the struggle for foreign markets, we must be as well organized as our competitors, . . ." he demanded. "We must have a new deal. . . ."²⁵

Brooks discussed the matter further with Henry, and on the basis of their observations of international and European developments, as well as of their reading of Eduard Bernstein's revision of Marxism, concluded that the "new deal" must be a system of state socialism, a fusion of socialism and

²² See note 19, above; interview in *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 19, 1898, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 172; and Aaron, *Men of Good Hope*, 267. Aaron quotes more of the interview than Beringause. Henry Adams to Elizabeth Cameron, Dec. 18, 1898, in *Letters of Henry Adams*, ed. Ford, 196.

²³ B. Adams, *America's Economic Supremacy*, 136, and "War as the Ultimate Form of Economic Competition," *Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute*, XXIX (Dec. 1903), 873.

²⁴ Interview in *Boston Evening Transcript*, Oct. 13, 1900, in Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 84; B. Adams, "The New Industrial Revolution," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXVII (Feb. 1901), 165, "Meaning of the Recent Expansion of the Foreign Trade of the United States," *Publications of the American Economic Association*, III (Feb. 1902), 90, "John Hay," *McClure's Magazine*, XIX (June 1902), 180, *The New Empire* (New York, 1902), xi, xxxiii.

²⁵ B. Adams, *America's Economic Supremacy*, 99-106, 130, 132, 135, "New Industrial Revolution," 165, and *The New Empire*, xii, xv, xxxiii, 211; interview in *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 19, 1898, in Aaron, *Men of Good Hope*, 267; B. Adams to Henry Adams, June 20, 1903, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 255; to editor, *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 23, 1898, in Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 76.

capitalism. In such a system, many of the great economic functions would be taken over by the state (or, in a cavalier equation, the state would be taken over by the trusts), which would enact a welfare program of "intelligent socialist changes" in the common interest. This "service state" would also channel economic power to the best advantage, unite the nation, and act effectively to support world empire. International competition, in Brooks's opinion, was forcing the country "to abandon the individual for the collective mode of life," the task of the next fifty years.²⁶

In this radical program, the integration of domestic and foreign policies was complete and necessary, and Brooks formulated it into a law: "In proportion as the United States consolidate within, in order to evolve the largest administrative mass, so must they be expected to expand without; and as they expand, they must simplify and cheapen the administrative machinery, until in this direction, also, the limit of economy by mass has been attained." State socialism was, in short, the cheapest and, hence, inevitable instrument of national power in a world of conflict.²⁷

Yet, because of his feeling that "questions of domestic administration [could] be relegated to the future,"²⁸ Adams did not spell out the details of his brand of socialism. He was specific enough in his foreign policy proposals, urging the aggressive penetration and control of the Caribbean and East Asia, the defense of the integrity of Korea and China, and an Anglo-American alliance, with England as the junior partner, to counter the aggressive thrust of the German-Russian land mass, substantially the policy of the McKinley and Roosevelt administrations.²⁹ This entailed, Adams insisted vehemently, a military reorganization that would prepare the country for war. For war, he said many times, was economic competition in its intensest form, and it was inevitable. The United States must, therefore, be "armed, organized, and bold" and create an army of 300,000 men to invade China and a navy of 100 battleships and armed cruisers, second to none. To remain "opulent,

²⁶ Henry Adams, "The Tendency of History" (1894), in *Degradation of the Democratic Dogma*, 128, 129; Henry Adams to B. Adams, Sept. 28, 1897, May 7, 1898, Oct. 31, Dec. 5, 1899; to Elizabeth Cameron, Apr. 10, 1898; to Ford, Nov. 26, Dec. 19, 1898, in *Letters of Henry Adams*, ed. Ford, 132, 164, 177, 178, 195, 197, 246-48; to B. Adams, Aug. 20, 1899, in Cater, *Henry Adams and His Friends*, 473; B. Adams to Henry Adams, Sept. 6, 1897, May 22, 1898, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 162, 170; B. Adams, *America's Economic Supremacy*, 103, 105, 106, 130, 132; Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 87; Charles A. Beard, "Introduction," in *Law of Civilization and Decay*, xlv. Brooks and Henry were in complete agreement on this matter.

²⁷ B. Adams, "The New Industrial Revolution," 165, and *America's Economic Supremacy*, 106.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 136; B. Adams, *The New Empire*, xv.

²⁹ B. Adams to Henry Adams, Oct. 14, 29, 1899; to editor, *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 23, 1898, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 186, 187, 212; B. Adams, *America's Economic Supremacy*, 80-82, 98, 132-33, 171-72, 174-75, 192-94, "John Hay," 180-82, *The New Empire*, 208-20, "War as the Ultimate Form," 876, and "Economic Conditions for Future Defense," *Atlantic Monthly*, XCII (Nov. 1903), 648.

unarmed, and aggressive" would invite disaster. "We must fight," he concluded, "for the termini of travel and command of the waves . . . [and] we must of course change our whole system. . . ." ³⁰

Beyond his general prescription of political reorganization, Adams at this point called only for radical changes in American education, particularly higher education, in order to produce the "new deal of men" with the intellectual qualities necessary to cope with the "New Empire" and the new order. These included, first of all, a completely flexible, scientific approach to all ideas and institutions. Intellectual rigidity and dogmatic loyalty to tradition and fixed ethical principles made for an unintelligent conservatism that was dangerous to survival. The opposite qualities—scientific discipline, matter-of-fact expedience, the application of intelligence to all problems, and the use of success as the sole criterion—had enabled the nation to reorganize its economic system and vault to world empire. The universities must inculcate this radical pragmatism in the future leaders of the country to enable them to reorganize the political system and make it as functional as the skyscraper and the railroad. In a more practical way, the schools must produce the generalizing mind, with "the faculty of reducing details to an intelligent order," that could cope with the masses created by increasing centralization and provide effective administration, that is, the "cheap, elastic, and simple machinery" necessary for progress and survival in the new age. ³¹

Then, in 1903, Adams' concern shifted from the international back to the domestic scene and remained there until the outbreak of World War I. The social and political changes, which he had felt in 1902 were a long way off, now became questions of the moment, while foreign affairs were in turn shelved pending future developments. He still thought that underlying international pressures provided the stimulus for reform: America was "the heart of the world," and if it could not successfully administer its empire, it would fall in war. The urgency of the crisis, however, had declined. ³²

³⁰ B. Adams to Henry Adams, July 19, 1900, Nov. 15, 1901, Feb. 3, 1903; to editor, *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 23, 1898, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 194, 212, 233, 241-42; B. Adams, *America's Economic Supremacy*, 72, 170, "Reciprocity or the Alternative," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXVIII (Aug. 1901), 145, 154, 155, *The New Empire*, 2-3, 113, "The Meaning of the Recent Expansion," 86, "War and Economic Competition," *Scribner's Magazine*, XXXI (Mar. 1902), 344-52, "Economic Conditions for Future Defense," 632.

³¹ B. Adams to Henry Adams, May 1, 1903, in Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 98; June 20, 1903, in Aaron, *Men of Good Hope*, 271 (a fuller version than given in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 255); B. Adams, "The Nation's Wider Outlook," *Nebraska State Journal*, June 14, 1901, in Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 88, "War as the Ultimate Form," 864, 872, 878, 880, *The New Empire*, xiii, xvi, xxiv, xxv, xxxii-xxxv, 210, 211, "Education for Administration," *The Leader: A Magazine of Modern Education*, I (Oct. 1903), 473, 477-78.

³² B. Adams, "Legal Supervision of the Transportation Tax," *North American Review*, CLXXIX (Sept. 1904), 387; Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 122, 123.

The old order, Adams observed, had passed during the McKinley years, and the Age of Roosevelt was one of "full social revolution" that would either wreck or reorganize American society. Survival dictated conscious efforts of political and economic reform, and Adams turned, therefore, as did the country, to grapple with the domestic problems of the progressive era.³³

He now threw himself into the work of arousing Americans and doing what he could to effect the changes he espoused. He taught at the Boston University Law School for eight years, hoping to train a new breed of lawyers and propagating a new conception of the law appropriate to the new order. He joined in the legal battle against James J. Hill's railroad empire in the Northwest and in the political struggle to regulate all railroads and monopolies. He wrote articles on the law and on the transportation problem and capped his efforts with a critical survey of the American political and economic system, *The Theory of Social Revolutions* (1913). But more than anything else, Adams' efforts to save American society revolved about the progressive program of his friend who had become President in 1901.³⁴

Roosevelt's advent to the presidency put Brooks Adams in a position of influence he had never enjoyed before, and he tried to use it to the utmost. The actual extent of his influence is, however, impossible to determine. Roosevelt now had a better opinion of his friend's sanity and invited him regularly to the White House for dinner. He asked for Adams' advice, always got it, and sometimes took it. "Brooks runs about and instructs the great," Henry observed in 1904, although he had earlier opined that his brother's personality was such as to prevent him from having too much influence on people. Roosevelt, on his part, was too much of an egotist to be deeply influenced by any one individual, and especially by one whose views, pressed to extremes by a mind trapped in the rigor of its own logic, were too impolitic for the practical politician in the White House. The fact remains, however, that the basic tenor of their ideas and even their prejudices was remarkably similar. Adams approved, in the main, of the Square Deal, the Big Stick, and the New Nationalism, though he had no use for the President's moralistic rationale. Roosevelt, for his part, had in effect accepted Adams' dare of leading the people in the struggle to overthrow the "Economic Man," although he did not share the latter's pessimism about the ultimate outcome. In truth, it would seem that as much as Adams influenced Roosevelt, the President stimulated his friend's renewed interest in domestic issues along progressive

³³ B. Adams to Henry Adams, Feb. 3, 1903, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 241; to Roosevelt, 1906, in Aaron, *Men of Good Hope*, 272-73; B. Adams, "William McKinley: The Modern Statesman," in *Boston Evening Transcript*, Sept. 21, 1901, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 218.

³⁴ See Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 106-17; Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 247-50, 257-59, 266-67, 274-79, 283-94; Melville M. Bigelow to Henry Adams, Mar. 19, 1910, *ibid.*, 330.

lines. Adams' political thought, nevertheless, takes on added importance, beyond that of a mere abstract exercise, by its projection on the national scene by the influential President.³⁵

Characteristically, Adams greeted the new President as the leader of a great power "who began the contest for supremacy of America against the eastern continent" and might well bring home the great prize: world domination. Soon afterward, he was applauding Roosevelt for "punching the wind out of Wall Street" by his intervention in the coal strike to assert the national interest. In 1903 he praised TR's campaign to bring the Morgan-Hill railroads to bay, linking it significantly to American Far Eastern policy. Roosevelt, in reply, fully agreed: "As you so admirably put it, it is necessary for us to keep the road of trade to the east open. In order to insure our having terminals, we must do our best to prevent the shutting to us of the Asian markets. In order to keep the roads to these terminals open we must see that they are managed primarily in the interest of the country. . . ."³⁶

For Adams, as for Roosevelt, the railroads were the focus of concern in domestic affairs. He was as one obsessed in a personal cause, as he joined Roosevelt's campaign for stronger regulatory laws and plunged quixotically into the case of the city of Spokane against the Northern Pacific Railway's discriminatory rates. The great railroad systems, his argument ran, were monopolies that had arrogated to themselves the sovereign power to control and tax public transport for their own gain and held themselves accountable to none. Such irresponsible control was incompatible with constitutional government, created a condition of "servitude to monopoly," and hence led down the road to social disorder and revolution. Historically, the railroads had always been mere agents of the sovereign in providing public transportation, and the state retained the right to hold them accountable and to appropriate any income in excess of a reasonable return. The government, in fine, had the legal power of fixing rates, or even of revoking the agency and re-assuming ownership of these public highways.³⁷

No "sober American statesman," Adams concluded with an eye on his

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 165, 208, 217, 243, 244, 248, 257, 274, 284; Henry Adams to Elizabeth Cameron, Jan. 12, 1902, Feb. 7, 1904, in *Letters of Henry Adams*, ed. Ford, 367, 423. For additional views of B. Adams' influence on Roosevelt, see William A. Williams, "Brooks Adams and American Expansionism," *New England Quarterly*, XXV (June 1952), 225-28; Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 193-94; Aaron, *Men of Good Hope*, 252, 254-55, 272-74; Miller, *American Thought*, xli.

³⁶ B. Adams to Roosevelt, Sept. 21, 1901, to Lodge, Oct. 26, 1901, to Henry Adams, Oct. 16, 1902, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 204, 224, 246; to Roosevelt, July 17, 1903, in Aaron, *Men of Good Hope*, 272 (the date of this letter is in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 244); Roosevelt to B. Adams, July 18, 1903, *ibid.*, 244-45, 274.

³⁷ B. Adams to Henry Adams, Sept. 28, 1910, *ibid.*, 332; B. Adams, "Legal Supervision of the Transportation Tax," 387, *Railways as Public Agents: A Study in Sovereignty* (Boston, 1910), xvi, 3-5, 144 [a reprint of Adams' brief filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission], *The Theory of Social Revolutions* (New York, 1913), 16, 17.

friend in the White House, would take this drastic step. Nor was there any need to break up the railroad monopolies: properly regulated, they were of great advantage to the public. The government must be able to step in and protect the people against arbitrary and discriminatory actions. Specifically, Adams advocated giving the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to fix reasonable rates, basing the return on an impartial valuation of railroad property. The government might even operate a pilot railroad in order to determine reasonable operating costs.³⁸

Roosevelt thought these suggestions were sensible, and Adams lauded TR's struggle to get a strong Hepburn bill as a conservative way of preventing government ownership of the railroads. At the same time, when the Socialists of Adams' home town, Quincy, offered him their congratulations, he was careful to repudiate their plaudits, explaining that his primary motive was to prevent the social chaos that would ensue as a result of "too much conservatism."³⁹

Adams extended his attacks to all monopolies. In his view, the great financial and industrial trusts, with the aid of pliant courts and legislatures, had gained control of prices of commodities and credit. They had thus encroached on the sovereign power, subverted the democratic process, and created a dangerous crisis in the social order. The remedy lay, as in the case of the railroads, not in destroying monopoly, which was the inevitable result of competition and, indeed, "the vital principle of our civilization," but in government control in the national interest, allowing "the community in its corporate capacity to prevail." This could be done by giving the government power to fix monopoly prices of the necessities of life.⁴⁰

The greatest obstacle to the assertion of the national interest, Adams reiterated many times, had been the courts. They had abandoned their Olympian office as interpreters of the law and become the instruments of the private as against the public interest, favoring the rich and powerful and undermining representative government. They had in effect assumed legislative functions and were striking down all attempts to bring the trusts to book. Roosevelt was right in trying to clip the courts' wings, and Adams supported

³⁸ Testimony of B. Adams at hearings of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, *Regulation of Railway Rates*, 59 Cong., 1 sess., Senate Docs., XIX, No. 4927 (Washington, D. C., 1906), IV, 2913-27; B. Adams, "Legal Supervision of the Transportation Tax," 385-87; Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 287-88.

³⁹ B. Adams to Roosevelt, July 17, 1903, in Aaron, *Men of Good Hope*, 272; to C. W. Hanscom, Dec. 5, 1907, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 257, 294-95.

⁴⁰ B. Adams to Rollo Ogden, Oct. 7, 1907, *ibid.*, 293-94; to Roosevelt, 1906, in Aaron, *Men of Good Hope*, 272-73; June 14, 1906, in Dowling, "Political Thought of Adamses," 233; B. Adams, "Law under Inequality: Monopoly," in Melville M. Bigelow *et al.*, *Centralization and the Law* (Boston, 1906), 132-34, "A Problem in Civilization," *Atlantic Monthly*, CVI (July 1910), 30, *Theory of Social Revolutions*, 13, 18, 21, 25-31.

his proposals to the limit. *The Theory of Social Revolutions* was in large part an angry attack on the power of the courts to legislate and a plea that they be gotten out of politics if revolution were to be avoided.⁴¹

Behind these "semi-political chambers," the Constitution, elevated into a sacred fetish almost immune to amendment and rigidly interpreted, stood in the way of orderly change. Beyond that, the whole "effete code of law," evaded by the capitalists and fallen into disrepute, no longer served as "the cement of society" and needed to be adapted to the new conditions of a scientific, industrial civilization.⁴²

The whole, formless, heterogeneous mass of American society, Adams capped the indictment, was on the verge of disintegration. "The collapse of capitalistic government" was at hand. The capitalists, who had ruled the country for two generations, had degenerated into narrow-minded specialists blind to any but their own selfish interests and were no longer able to furnish leadership. Labor and capital were locked in mortal conflict: the struggle between the forces of rebellion led by William Randolph Hearst and the plutocracy led by J. P. Morgan was racking the social order. The "slough of urban politics," the dissolution of the family, the regnant confusion in the arts, sciences, education, and even in the relations between the sexes—all were further indexes of ruin. There were no longer any common bonds, no generally accepted basis of authority to hold society together. America was dissolving into its component parts.⁴³

What was to be done? First of all, in Adams' opinion, one must take the long-range view of the social process and see that a revolution had been effected in the last seventy-five years by the development of science and industry. Tremendous new energies had been generated that had taken the form of larger, concentrated masses, of which the steel cage of the skyscraper was the symbol and the trusts the agents. The old forms no longer served to contain the new masses, hence the formlessness verging on dissolution. Americans were like bees who could go on producing honey abundantly,

⁴¹ B. Adams to Holmes, May 3, 1892, in Dowling, "Political Thought of Adamses," 193; to Ogden, Oct. 7, 1907, to Henry Adams, Mar. 2, 1912, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 294, 342; B. Adams, *Railways as Public Agents*, 17, 55, *Theory of Social Revolutions*, 4, 34-37, 47, 102 ff., 123 ff., 218 ff.; anon. review of *ibid.*, *Outlook*, CVI (Feb. 28, 1914), 504.

⁴² B. Adams to Hanscom, Dec. 5, 1907, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 294-95; B. Adams, *The New Empire*, xv, "Nature of Law: Methods and Aims of Legal Education," in Bigelow *et al.*, *Centralization and the Law*, 47; Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 296; B. Adams, *Theory of Social Revolutions*, 13, 31, 35, 44, 212-15, "Title to Property," *American Law Review*, L (Jan. 1916), 61, 62 [originally given as an address in June 1914].

⁴³ B. Adams to Henry Adams, Aug. 10, 1910, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 331; Mar. 18, 1912, in Dowling, "Political Thought of Adamses," 272; to Lodge, Mar. 3, 1906, in Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 114; Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 296; B. Adams, *The New Empire*, 34, "War as the Ultimate Form," 872-73, *Theory of Social Revolutions*, 1, 2, 27, 29, 33, 207-10, 215, 227, "Title to Property," 75, 83.

but could not build a comb to contain it. What the nation needed were new forms to control and direct the emergent forces.⁴⁴

The necessary forms were summed up in what Adams called "administration," "the capacity of coordinating many, and often conflicting, social energies in a single organism, so adroitly that they should operate as a unity." This required "unity of sequence in conception combined with unity and continuity in execution." Unity was the desideratum, the *sine qua non* of survival and progress, what Adams said he had been working for half his life, what George Washington, John Quincy Adams, and brother Henry, all his heroes, had been working for. Only administration in this sense could bring order to society. And he insisted anew on the reform of educational methods and purposes in order to produce the generalizing or "synthetic" mind that could rise to this level of administration.⁴⁵

In practical terms, administration meant the elaboration of a new concept of the function of government. The national government could no longer serve negatively as the passive object or even as the arbiter of competing, selfish pressure groups. It must act positively for the common welfare and work as a unifying force. And it must be powerful enough to be effective. Its powers must be expanded so that it could deal with the great new forces of modern life and weld the incoherent mass together by active (and coercive, if necessary) intervention in the social and economic life of the nation. The government must be stronger than any and all groups.⁴⁶

Specifically, the executive must have full power to make national policy and direct its administration by means of an efficient civil service. It was to be freed from "legislative meddling": the legislature would be allowed only to approve or reject such policy as a whole, for it was simply not an efficient administrative body. Adams also favored the referendum as a democratic, though crude, means of limiting the legislature and giving the executive the power of formulating policy, while retaining popular control.⁴⁷

Such a strengthened government would unify the American people by giving them a common economic interest. It would regulate monopolies and fix monopoly prices. Labor might be granted a greater stake in society by giving workers in the monopoly industries job security equivalent to civil

⁴⁴ B. Adams to Henry Adams, Aug. 10, 1910, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 331, 332; B. Adams, "Education for Administration," 472, 473, "War as the Ultimate Form," 867, "Nature of Law," 47.

⁴⁵ B. Adams to Henry Adams, Mar. 6, 1909, Aug. 10, 1910, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 312, 331, Bigelow to Henry Adams, Mar. 16, 1910, *ibid.*, 330; *ibid.*, 296; B. Adams, "Education for Administration," 473, 477-78, "A Problem in Civilization," 26, 28, 31, 32, *Theory of Social Revolutions*, 207-20, 216-18, "Title to Property," 82.

⁴⁶ Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 296; B. Adams, "A Problem in Civilization," 31, *Theory of Social Revolutions*, 12, 29-30, "Title to Property," 82-83.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 79-82.

service status, with pensions, guaranteed minimum wages, and even a share of the profits. The government would expand its services for all citizens, as many city governments had done with regard to schools, parks, and transportation, in order to meet new, complex social needs. The expertise, long-range planning, and continuity and uniformity of administration needed on the urban level might well be applied to national problems.⁴⁸

The concept of a paternalistic state governed by a strong executive by means of efficient, continuous administration and dedicated to the unitary goal of the national interest was essentially the Progressive view of Theodore Roosevelt, clearly expounded at the end of his second term and in his Bull Moose period. And Adams enthusiastically supported his friend's bid for the presidency in 1912 and voted the straight Progressive ticket. He freely offered his advice to the candidate, and the two exchanged assurances of agreement.⁴⁹

For Adams, the election of 1912 was a crisis like that of 1893: then, the critical issue had been the control of the currency, and now it was government control of prices and all that it implied. Roosevelt, he opined with approval, was the voice of the opposition to the rule of "the industrial capitalistic class" and wished to create a government "strong enough to coerce the special interests" and make them "equal before the law." TR firmly believed "that industrialism had induced conditions which [could] no longer be controlled by the old capitalistic methods, and the country must be brought to the level of administrative efficiency competent to deal with the strains and stresses of the twentieth century." On his success depended the success or failure of American civilization.⁵⁰

Adams had some reservations about the Bull Moose crusade. He had only contempt for the run-of-the-mine Progressives who flocked to TR's banner: they were mostly "philanthropists and women" who did not know what they wanted and "would run like rabbits" if they were told what must be done. He doubted very much if the great American middle class, in its loyalty to tradition, would support the movement for consolidation of the government. Their ebullient, headstrong leader himself made mistakes, and his mind was not elastic enough to see all the ramifications of the problem. In the campaign, he had given in to the sentimentalists of the Progressive party rank and file and adopted all the nostrums of the millennium in his platform and thus made the movement into a disintegrating rather than a constructive

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 77-78, 83; B. Adams, "Education for Administration," 474.

⁴⁹ B. Adams to Henry Adams, Mar. 2, Nov. 5, 1912, to Roosevelt, Feb. 29, Mar. 10, May 1, 22, 1912, Roosevelt to B. Adams, Feb. 23, 1912, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 342-45.

⁵⁰ B. Adams to Roosevelt, 1912, in Aaron, *Men of Good Hope*, 273-74; Feb. 29, May 22, 1912, to Henry Adams, Mar. 2, 1912, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 342-44; B. Adams, *Theory of Social Revolutions*, 2-4.

force. Adams sometimes doubted, as of old, if anyone could accomplish anything against the pull of the underlying forces. But even after defeat, he was still certain that TR and his Progressive program were America's best and only chance.⁵¹

The outbreak of the war in Europe confirmed and intensified all of Adams' ideas. Seeing it as the expected and inevitable result of international economic competition, he believed that it would last thirty years and "give us a new world whoever wins. . . . The world, socially and economically, [could] never again be the same as it was before the breakdown of the old order of things which began the war." He was certain that the ideal of peace could never be realized and that the United States would eventually be drawn into the conflict. But, he insisted up to its very entry, America should remain "absolutely neutral" and not take sides. Not that he was an isolationist or pacifist. He favored neutrality so that the country could have time to strengthen itself by reorganizing its political and economic system along collective lines and by looking to its military defenses. With Roosevelt, he vigorously supported preparedness. Citing the German experience, he advocated universal military service as a truly democratic means of building up an army. Americans, he argued, might also learn something from the Germans about patriotic duty and devotion to the collective welfare. As it stood, American democratic civilization was rotten to the core, dominated by selfish, pecuniary values and lacking in collective energy and spirit. To go to war in such a state would be disastrous. Most earnestly, Adams pleaded with his countrymen to give up the debased code of individualist business as usual democracy and display a spirit of duty to the community to the point of self-sacrifice. Essentially, preparedness for the coming struggle consisted of "collective thinking and collective action."⁵²

After the United States entered the war, Adams found a forum for his views in the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1917-1918, to which he had been elected as a delegate from his home town of Quincy. He lectured the delegates, warning and cajoling in turn, in learned, historical disquisitions that must have bewildered them. He introduced radical resolutions and abstruse motions, all to no avail. He was listened to respectfully, as some elder sage of honored family who in his twilight years had fallen into

⁵¹ B. Adams to Lodge, Apr. 6, 1912, Apr. 26, 1914, in Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 169, 183; to Henry Adams, Mar. 2, 1912, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 342; B. Adams, *Theory of Social Revolutions*, 5, 6, 33-34; Aaron, *Men of Good Hope*, 274.

⁵² B. Adams to Lodge, Jan. 16, 1917, in Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 156-57; interview in *Boston Herald*, Sept. 14, 1914, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 356; Brooks Adams, "The American Democratic Ideal," *Yale Review*, V (Jan. 1916), 225-27, 231-33 [reprint of address given in Nov. 1915], "Can War Be Done Away With?" *Papers and Proceedings, American Sociological Society*, X (Dec. 1915), 107, 112, "The Incoherence of American Democracy," *Proceedings Bunker Hill Monument Association 1916* (Boston, 1916), 30, 31, 43, 44, 48; Beringause, *Brooks*

the aberrations of socialism, and largely ignored. As Brooks himself said, "No one contradicts. No one cares. . . ." ⁵³

Characteristically, he was himself to blame in part for the indifference with which he was greeted. When pointedly asked by another delegate if he preferred the present chaos or the collective order he advocated, he answered that he would rather take his chances with things as they were. When pressed further and asked if any action taken by the convention would stay the irresistible forces of destiny, he could only deny that it would make the slightest difference and helplessly admitted that "it would [only] disorganize us, that is all. . . ." His answers reflected the growing pall of pessimism that shrouded his later years. ⁵⁴

Yet there was a note of desperate urgency in his speeches in which he elaborated his long-held political faith. The war had brought a critical situation, a period of rapid change that posed a threat to American survival as a great power. Total reorganization of the political and economic system that would put the national interest above all private interests was imperative. The government must act to protect the whole and suppress or subordinate all special interests to the collective good. Call this system state socialism or "state business," it meant only that the state was "the property and instrument of all of us," that "the rake-off [went] to the community." ⁵⁵

Only an efficient system of administration could act in the national interest and give the community effective command of its resources. American success in war demanded something "tantamount to a dictatorship," an executive with "a single mind" who could act decisively. The diffusion of governmental powers prescribed by a constitution 150 years old only hamstrung effective action. Representative government as Americans had known it was dead and dying in the world crisis and served only to fragment and baffle the popular will and allow a selfish minority to dominate the body politic. The legislature was nothing but a "debating club," and the courts political instruments of privilege. ⁵⁶

Adams, 357, 358, 365, 371; Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 155, 156; Aaron, *Men of Good Hope*, 274, 275.

⁵³ *Debates in the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, 1917-1919* (4 vols., Boston, 1919-20), see "Index" in IV for B. Adams' speeches; B. Adams to Bigelow, Sept. 10, 1917, in Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 168; Raymond L. Bridgman, *The Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1917* (Boston, 1923), 76, 136; obit., *Boston Evening Transcript*, Feb. 14, 1927, cited in W. C. Ford, "Memoir of Brooks Adams," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, LX (May 1927), 353; Augustus P. Loring, "The Fourth Constitutional Convention 1914-1919," in *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts*, ed. Albert B. Hart (5 vols., New York, 1927-30), V, 640, 648; Augustus P. Loring, "A Short Account of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention," *New England Quarterly*, VI (No. 1, 1933), suppl., 38, 63.

⁵⁴ *Debates*, I, 737; B. Adams to Bigelow, Sept. 10, 1917, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 373.

⁵⁵ *Debates*, I, 551, 571-72, 667, 735, 737, 738, 1035, 1036, III, 377, 963, 965, 1032.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 551, 570-72, 591, 667, 735, 738, 855, 856, 859, 1035, 1036, III, 377-79, 966, 969-70, 1032, 1033.

Adams, nevertheless, defended his collective order as the essence of popular government. It was a new kind of democracy, a "democracy of movement," which would keep abreast of changing conditions, destroy the ruling "plutocratic despotism," and allow the will of the people to prevail. Although the people would not, could not govern, they would control the government. They need not fear giving it vastly increased powers. In a democratic society they must trust their government and believe in it. Freedom and democracy, in the last analysis, inhered not in the political structure but in the sentiments and ideals of the people.⁵⁷

All of Adams' specific proposals for the new constitution underlined his democratic intentions. He favored increasing the governor's powers and also voted for the highly controversial initiative and referendum as a popular check on the executive. He proposed to increase the effectiveness of the state legislature and make it independent of the special interests by expanding its powers and making it a unicameral body, based on proportional representation. For all its shortcomings, it still was an expression of the will of the people. He wished to give it, rather than the courts, the authority to determine the limits of the police power as well as the power to regulate the conditions, hours, and wages of labor. At one point in the debates he introduced a radical proposal to give the legislature authority "to organize, conduct or administer such agricultural, commercial, industrial or trading undertakings or enterprises, as [it] shall declare to be conducive to the public welfare." The proposal was not adopted; nor was Adams sure that, if adopted, the government had the skilled personnel to carry out such a sweeping measure. He wished, however, to call the attention of the delegates to the critical necessity of organizing the government of Massachusetts so that it would be fit for the prosecution of the war. The war was the driving force behind the whole of Adams' radical progressive program to combine efficiency, democracy, welfare, and the national interest in a viable political system.⁵⁸

On the national level Adams was at first critical of Wilson as a "blatant ass" who had failed to give the country an efficient war administration and had betrayed the national interest by surrendering to the bankers. But, by the summer of 1918, he came to approve the President's policies and leadership. The government, he told the delegates, had become as "absolute" as the tsar or the Kaiser, but the country had not suffered. Wilson had taken over the railroads and had generally acted without the law and even against the

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 551, 570-72, 586, 859, 1036, II, 500, 502, III, 967-70; B. Adams, *Theory of Social Revolutions*, 44.

⁵⁸ *Debates*, I, 633, 736, 737, 854, 1036, III, 1032-34; *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts 1917* (Boston, 1917), 47, 53, 70, 369-70, 381, 519, 538, 599-600, 605, 615, 798-99; Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 223, n. 2.

law, but all his measures were necessary for the prosecution of the war and the salvation of the country. Hence they were good.⁵⁹

For all his efforts, Adams could not help feeling that he had failed at the convention. There was no staying the descent into the maelstrom because men were blind automata, acting as they had to, not as they should. And after the war, beset by age and shattered by the death of Henry, he lapsed into a dark and bitter pessimism.⁶⁰

The very pillars of the world, he felt, had collapsed. The universe, which he had once thought to be "an expression of law" making for progress, now seemed to be "a chaos which admits of no equilibrium, and with which man [was] doomed eternally and hopelessly to contend." Democracy, which had once held the promise of a viable order achieved through science and education, had been shown up as a war of all against all, dissolving into a vapor. It had "conspicuously and decisively failed in the collective administration of the common public property." *The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma* (New York, 1919), the title Brooks gave to the collection of Henry's papers, was as descriptive of his own views as his brother's. Wilson was now again an evil man ("Kill Wilson," he shrilled to Senator Lodge) who had sold out to the international bankers. The latter had, after all, taken over the conduct of the war, and the treaty and the league were but their schemes to rule the world. Chicane was master, and the upshot was chaos. Silence was best on the way to the tomb.⁶¹

After death came to the eccentric, irascible old man in 1927, he and his work were lost in neglect for many years. Only since World War II has there been a renewal of interest in Brooks Adams. As the issues he had dealt with were once more sharply raised, scholars have assayed his usable value and tried to fix his place in the American political tradition, some claiming him for the liberal, some for the conservative camp.⁶²

Adams himself always insisted he was a conservative, and, ironically, his insistence was strongest when he broached his most radical proposals. His repudiation of the Socialists was more than a tactical disclaimer. He was, indeed, a conservative in the sense that in a world of flux and conflict he

⁵⁹ B. Adams to Lodge, Feb. 3, 1918, *ibid.*, 170; *Debates*, I, 856, 1036, III, 379, 967, 968, 1034.

⁶⁰ B. Adams to Bigelow, Sept. 10, 1917, in Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 168-69; Apr. 3, 1918, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 375; Henry Adams to Elizabeth Cameron, Sept. 5, 1917, in *Letters of Henry Adams*, ed. Ford, 645.

⁶¹ B. Adams to Lodge, Jan. 6, 1917, Oct. 15, Dec. 28, 1919, in Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 171-72, 183; Sept. 27, Nov. 16, 1919, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 383; B. Adams, "Preface," *Emancipation of Massachusetts*, 4, 5, 104 [a new preface written for the 1919 edition of the book], "The Heritage of Henry Adams," 10, 77-78, 109, 116, 118, 120, 121. Brooks seems to have ascribed to John Quincy Adams what he now strongly believed himself. (See Miller, "Introduction," *Emancipation of Massachusetts*, xxx-xxxiv.)

⁶² See note 1, above.

wished for a measure of order and unity to be maintained by established authority with the necessary power. He wanted to restore the shattered consensus of American society and favored a new world order based on American hegemony. He was concerned with the preservation of private property and the protection, if necessary, of the interests of the dominant capitalists from their own blindly destructive policies.⁶³

Yet, in equally important senses, Adams was far from conservative. He was always warning against "too much conservatism" and "unreasoning conservatism." His own brand of "intelligent conservatism" had an exceedingly radical cast. He was no defender of the *status quo*. His methods of preserving capitalism involved its transformation, not so much for its own sake as for the sake of the national interest. He was a thoroughgoing statist, favoring the aggrandizement of the power of the national government. He was not a traditionalist: much as he looked back with nostalgia to the Middle Ages, he knew those days of the ascendancy of the religious and artistic emotions were beyond recall. Above all, his basic intellectual position, combining economic determinism with a radical pragmatism, which led him to insist on the necessity of consciously adapting the social structure to the changing underlying conditions, drove him beyond the conservative pale. This instrumentalist approach to political, economic, and legal problems moved him to favor measures that shocked conservatives and were supported by many progressives.

But not all progressives. Adams' social thought was not the traditional, orthodox, progressive gospel. It was highly nationalistic, and frankly collectivistic, concerned with social forces and group interests rather than with individual liberty and opportunity or humanitarian ideals. He had no sense of identification with or faith in the common people, as, say, William Jennings Bryan or Robert La Follette had, and he denied the relevance of the old, individualistic, democratic concepts and processes. It is these elitist, authoritarian overtones that have led some latter-day liberals to call him a "pseudo-progressive" and see in his program ugly intimations of fascism.⁶⁴

There is ostensibly a deep paradox here. Adams himself was aware of it when he stated that "the most conservative as well as the most radical" agreed with his views on centralized administration, or when he equated his own conservatism with "intelligent progressiveness." One is tempted to apply Walter Lippmann's judgment of William James in 1912—"conservative about values and radical about forms"—but even this merely begs the question.⁶⁵

⁶³ B. Adams to Ogden, Oct. 7, 1907, in Beringause, *Brooks Adams*, 294; to Lodge, Apr. 26, 1914, in Anderson, *Brooks Adams*, 169.

⁶⁴ B. Adams to Lodge, Jan. 18, 1920, *ibid.*, 180.

⁶⁵ B. Adams to Henry Adams, June 20, 1903, *ibid.*, 100; B. Adams, "Nation's Wider Outlook," *ibid.*, 88; Walter Lippmann, *A Preface to Politics* (New York, 1913), 49.

The paradox disappears when one puts Adams' views on domestic affairs in the context of his foreign policy proposals and sees them both as a new departure in American ideology *and* American policy. As such, it was a quest for national unity and efficiency in an age of international conflict. It was progressivism plus *Realpolitik*, an expression of a new kind of twentieth-century nationalism.

At bottom, Adams was a progressive of the nationalist school, like TR and Herbert Croly, who wished to create a national community pursuing the national interest by means of efficient and continuous administration, with all that it implied of planning and welfare measures. This organic community, he firmly believed, was made necessary, and could only be achieved, by the strategic and economic growth of the United States to a position of supremacy in the world; the one was not possible without the other.

That this integration of domestic reforms and external expansion was neither fortuitous nor unique is suggested by developments in European political and social thought at about the same time. In Great Britain, Joseph Chamberlain, Sidney Webb, Lord Milner, and Professor Halford Mackinder, each in his own way, advocated both social reform and imperialism, as did Friedrich Naumann, Oswald Spengler, Walter Rathenau and the neo-conservatives, as well as some Social Democrats who veered toward "social imperialism," in Germany. Some of these men started from a conservative orientation; some were initially moved by a liberal or socialist impulse. But all converged toward this new ideological position which combined in a necessary relationship the goals of national solidarity (through social reform) and international power. Adams might thus be seen as one of the first American exponents of this new trend in political thought.⁶⁶

This development, it must be emphasized, was no temporary aberration, no unfortunate fall from grace. Its general recurrence suggests that it was a viable and realistic response to events in the Western world in the twentieth century, when international power and national solidarity have gone hand in hand. It reflected what Henry Adams somewhat ruefully called "the per-

⁶⁶ Bernard Semmel, *Imperialism and Social Reform: English Social-Imperial Thought 1895-1914* (London, 1960), *passim*, esp. 26-28, 64-82, 131-33, 174-75, 179-87, 234-35; William O. Shanahan, "Liberalism and Foreign Affairs: Naumann and the Prewar German View," *Review of Politics*, XXI (Jan. 1959), 194-220, and "Friedrich Naumann: A German View of Power and Nationalism," in *Nationalism and Internationalism*, ed. Edward M. Earle (New York, 1950), 381, 382, 397; H. Stuart Hughes, *Oswald Spengler: A Critical Estimate* (New York, 1952), 41-44, 95, 106-10; Klemens Von Klemperer, *Germany's New Conservatism: Its History and Dilemma in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N. J., 1957), 56, 57, 59-60, 64-69; Abraham Ascher, "National Solidarity and Imperial Power: The Sources and Early Development of Social Imperialist Thought in Germany, 1871-1914," doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1957, and "Imperialists within German Social Democracy prior to 1914," *Journal of Central European Affairs*, XX (Jan. 1961), 397-422; William L. Spalding, "Social Imperialism: The Impact of Nationalism on German Socialist Thinking during the First World War 1914-1918," doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 1949; Lenore O'Boyle, "Theories of Socialist Imperialism," *Foreign Affairs*, XXVIII (Jan. 1950), 290-98.

petual victory of the principles of freedom and their perpetual conversion into principles of power." It was directly related to the fact that, as Gunnar Myrdal has observed, the world crises of the last fifty years have hastened and increased the volume of state intervention in economic and social affairs.⁶⁷

The cogency of Adams' thought is thus reinforced by the fact that he favored what in large measure has transpired. The charges of incipient fascism made against him are meaningless in the American context because his ideas issued not in Hitler but in John F. Kennedy and his advisers. Despite his simplifications and contradictions, despite his penchant for hyperbole, Adams clearly perceived the trends, barely visible in his own day, that were to develop in the future. Today, American progressives have come to terms, as Louis Hartz hoped they would, with America's international obligations and opportunities. Once more, they are talking of and working for the national purpose, of the primacy of the public interest, and, in the same breath, of the need for a strong America to maintain and extend its influence in the world against an external rival and enemy. And American society has achieved a large, almost frightening measure of consensus: the conflicts of interest have been, if not abolished, allayed or confined within limits dictated by the national interest and the necessities of the cold war.⁶⁸

These policies are, to repeat Lippmann's recent conclusion, neither liberal nor conservative as such. They are both. They are essentially nationalist.

Or maybe brother Henry had the last ironic word: "paradox had become the only orthodoxy. . . ." ⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (New York, 1931), 458 [written in 1905 and first published in 1918]; Gunnar Myrdal, *Beyond the Welfare State* (New Haven, Conn., 1960), 23-30.

⁶⁸ Louis Hartz, "The Coming of Age of America," *American Political Science Review*, LI (June 1957), 483.

⁶⁹ Adams, *Education of Henry Adams*, 423-24.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Calvinism and Democracy:
Some Political Implications of Debates on French
Reformed Church Government, 1562-1572

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THE idea that Calvinism provided an important source of political democracy was long a popular one in this country. Careful studies of Calvin's own political ideas exploded a part of that theory several decades ago.¹ There remained in some quarters the belief that the Calvinist introduction into church government of some popular participation helps to explain the rise of democratic civil government. Recent studies have cast doubt even on this argument from analogy.² There were periods in the early history of the Calvinist movement, however, when the argument from analogy was taken seriously. They deserve further study. One such period was the decade 1562-1572, beginning shortly before Calvin's death in 1564, extending until the St. Bartholomew's massacres in 1572.

During this decade, the Reformed church that Calvin had founded in France was rocked by a bitter running quarrel that assumed significant proportions. One faction within that church argued that Christian church government should be highly decentralized, with local congregations assuming virtual autonomy and with laymen playing a significant role in their leadership. In short, they wanted what we might call congregationalism. Another faction insisted on strengthening the centralizing institutions in Reformed church government, particularly the provincial and national synods, and the peculiarly powerful Geneva mother church, with ordained

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¹ A useful elementary introduction to the substantial literature on this subject is provided by George L. Mosse, *Calvinism: Authoritarian or Democratic?* (New York, 1957).

² See, e.g., Leo F. Solt's criticism of application of the argument from analogy to certain seventeenth-century English Puritans in his *Saints in Arms* (Stanford, Calif., 1959), esp. 70-72.

clergymen assuming real leadership at every level. What they wanted is what we would call presbyterianism. Both sides argued vigorously for their views with that blend of arguments drawn from scriptural exegesis, early church history, and prudential political considerations, which was typical of their time and milieu.

The chief protagonists in this debate were Jean Morely, sire de Villiers, and Theodore Beza.³ Morely was the founder of the “congregational” faction. He was a French Reformed petty nobleman, whose writings reveal him to have been a man of modest education, and whose most important position was as tutor for several months at the court of Navarre, to the young prince who was eventually to become King Henry IV of France. Beza was chief defender of the “presbyterian” position. He was also of a French petty noble family, but was a brilliant product of the best that the French Renaissance educational system could offer and had become Calvin’s undisputed successor as ecclesiastical leader of the French-speaking Reformed churches. He served for decades as Moderator of the Geneva Company of Pastors. He influenced key decisions by a number of important French national synods and even presided over the most important of them. And he was the chief ecclesiastical adviser to the great aristocrats who provided political and military leadership to the party.

At first glance, it would seem that a contest between these two men could hardly be an equal one. In the end, Beza did in fact triumph, decisively and completely. But before that end came, Morely had won to his side a number of people who were far more important than he. A look at some of them will help explain the proportions this quarrel assumed.

First and foremost among Morely’s supporters were certain of the great Huguenot aristocrats. Their interest in his program lasted only a few months, from 1564 to 1566, but this was time enough for him to form a faction. Of these aristocrats, the one most inclined to defend Morely was Odet de Coligny, the Protestant Cardinal de Châtillon.⁴ Odet’s even more powerful brother, Gaspard de Coligny, admiral of France, also admitted a passing interest in Morely.⁵ And Jeanne d’Albret, queen of Navarre, was impressed

³ Much of my information on Morely’s career, particularly the earlier stages of it, was provided by Henri Naef of Geneva. Some of it was published in his *La Conjuración d’Amboise et Genève* (Geneva, 1922), 438 *et passim*. For information on Beza, see *inter alia*, Paul-F. Geisen-dorf, *Théodore de Bèze* (Geneva and Paris, 1949).

⁴ Bibliothèque publique et universitaire de Genève [hereafter cited as Geneva, BPU], MS fr. 446, contains several pieces mentioning the Cardinal de Châtillon’s interest in Morely, e.g., fols. 12–13, 72–73. This entire volume of MSS concerns the Morely affair. Most of them are reports to Beza and others in Geneva about Morely’s activities from 1564 to 1566; some are letters from Morely to Geneva begging for reconciliation; a few are drafts of letters from Beza to various people involved in the affair.

⁵ Coligny to Beza, Jan. 21, 1567, Geneva, BPU, MS fr. 197b, fols. 123–24.

enough by his intellectual qualities to hire him as a tutor for her son, the titular leader of the entire movement.⁶

By vigorous action, Beza succeeded in persuading these aristocrats to abandon support of Morely, in 1566. Already, however, Morely had won considerable support among the Calvinist clergy, particularly in the provinces surrounding Paris. Of these clergymen, the most prominent was Hugues Sureau, dit Du Rosier. During these very years, Sureau became widely known as a spokesman for the Calvinist position in a series of open debates with certain of the powerful new Catholic controversialists who were posing an extremely serious intellectual threat to Protestantism.⁷

Sureau and his colleagues soon enlisted even more support for the Morely program among lay members of their churches. Of these laymen, the most prominent was Peter Ramus, the royal professor in Paris whose dramatic attacks on Aristotle and other revered authorities of antiquity and whose persuasive proposal of a new system of logic enchanted an entire generation of students and enraged an entire generation of his colleagues. Ramus had been a Protestant sympathizer since about 1561, but became an active lay leader within the movement only from 1568 until his death in 1572.⁸ During these years he and Sureau became the really aggressive leaders of the dissident "congregational" faction within the French Reformed church.

Of the many ideas about ecclesiastical polity and discipline debated by these two factions during this decade, one is of particular interest to the historian of political thought. This is the idea that there is analogy between civil government and ecclesiastical government. Not all who were parties to the dispute would even concede the validity of this great analogy. Those who did drew diametrically different conclusions from it. But for those who were willing to pursue the notion of analogy, the concept of democracy became an inevitable part of the debate. The sharpest and most interesting

⁶ Jeanne d'Albret to Beza, Dec. 6, 1566, published in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*, XVI (1867), 64-67, a letter promising to dismiss Morely, but reporting that he had been an unusually successful teacher.

⁷ For more on Sureau, see Eugène and Émile Haag, *La France protestante . . .* (1st ed., 10 vols., Paris, 1846-58), IX, 329-30, article "Sureau"; Paul Chaix, *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Genève de 1550 à 1564* (Geneva, 1954), 224; Robert M. Kingdon, "Genève et les réformés français: le cas d'Hugues Sureau, dit Du Rosier (1565-1574)," *Bulletin, Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève*, XII (No. 2, 1961), 77-87.

⁸ The most detailed description of Ramus's view on this subject that I have discovered is in a letter (De Lestre to Beza, Mar. 19, 1572), a recent Genevan copy of which I consulted in Geneva, *Musée historique de la Réformation*, Beza correspondence, and which is mentioned in *La France protestante*, 1st ed., VII, 45-46, article "Lestre." A somewhat briefer and more guarded description is in Ramus to Bullinger, Sept. 1, 1571, published in Charles Waddington, *Ramus* (Paris, 1855), 433-35; cf. also the condemnatory acts of the National Synod of Nîmes, May 6, 1572, published in *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata . . .*, ed. John Quick (2 vols., London, 1692), I, 111-13, and *Tous les Synodes nationaux des églises réformées de France . . .*, ed. Jean Aymon (2 vols., The Hague, 1710).

demonstrations of this fact are to be found in the writings of the two chief protagonists, Morely and Beza. Specifically, they are found in certain passages of a book titled *Traicté de la discipline & police chrestienne*, which Morely had published in 1562 and which remained the essential statement of his faction's position even though it was apparently never reprinted,⁹ and in certain passages of letters written by Beza in 1571 and thereafter to counter the influence of Ramus, at a time when the length of the controversy and the prospect of complete victory led him to be somewhat more blunt than he had been earlier.

Morely's book was prepared with the idea of an analogy between civil government and ecclesiastical government central to his plan of writing and was to be the first volume in a set of two. It dealt with the form of ecclesiastical government that Morely believed was enjoined by the Word of God as revealed in Scripture, and by the experience of the church. Its successor, apparently never written, was to deal with the form of civil government that similar authorities dictated. The basic argument of the first book was that the government God wants for His church is democratic: specifically that such key functions of the church as the discipline of members who stray from dogmatic standards of truth or moral standards of behavior, and the selection of the lay and clerical leaders of the church (the "elders" and "pastors" to use the terminology of the day), should be in the hands of the entire membership of each local congregation. Obviously this is a form of government that political thinkers of any period would call democratic. To call it democratic in the sixteenth century, however, was to damn it. Centuries of political thought in the Christian West on the possible varieties of government, almost always concluding that a well-ordered monarchy was clearly the variety favored if not actually required by God and by nature, had conditioned most thinking men to instinctive rejection of any form of government in which the people had much share. And this instinctive rejection could only have been fortified by the Renaissance recovery and intensive study of the classical Greek and Roman analyses of the possible forms of government and the relative advantages of each. Both traditions combined to give the very word "democracy" a distinctly negative meaning, to conjure up visions of rule by completely unprincipled and undisciplined mobs subject to no direction but that of occasional vicious and self-serving demagogues.

All of this Morely realized. He was particularly aware of the classical

⁹ For a full bibliographical description and printing history of this book, see Alfred Cartier, *Bibliographie des éditions des de Tournes, imprimeurs lyonnais* (2 vols., Paris, 1937-38), No. 488, II, 524-25. I consulted the copy in Geneva, BPU, Rés. 277* Dg.

analyses of forms of government, above all of Aristotle's, and he saw that once the analogy between civil and ecclesiastical government was openly admitted, the classical arguments against democracy could be brought to bear against his proposal. At two points in his book he grapples directly with this problem. The first time he denies that the government he proposes is really a "democracy" in the ancient sense.¹⁰ The two great disadvantages of a democracy in the ancients' eyes, he says, are that it has no body of law and no mechanism of administration. Both these essential prerequisites, however, can be found in the form of church government he is supporting. Holy Scripture provides the necessary body of law. Through it God has already done the legislative work necessary to the church of defining doctrine and morals. And in it He clearly provides for the selection of a "Moderating Council . . . composed of Pastors and Elders legitimately elected," which becomes the necessary mechanism of administration.

The second time Morely raises the problem of democracy in church government, he goes even further and leans even more heavily on the principle of analogy.¹¹ He goes so far as to argue that a "democracy" dominated by law is actually the best form of civil government. He points to the Athenian and Roman Republics as examples of such a government and insists that they in fact provide the models from which all that is good in contemporary civil government derives. And he bolsters this claim by noting that Aristotle observed that just as a banquet to which many bring dishes is better than one prepared by a single person, so a government taking the advice of many is better than a government controlled by few.¹² The conclusion Morely draws from this line of reasoning, of course, is that the natural reasoning embodied in the authors of antiquity reinforces at this point the scriptural revelation that God wants church government to be democratic. It was not then to his purpose to develop further the notion that democracy was the best form of civil government. Whether he would in fact have developed that notion in his second volume probably will never be known. It would have been unusually audacious of him to have done so. And it would almost certainly have cost him the favor of the powerful Huguenot aristocrats who did for a time help him.

Since Morely would have been so vulnerable on this point, it is somewhat

¹⁰ Jean Morely, *Traicté de la discipline & police chrestienne* (Lyons, 1562), 32–33. Morely uses the words "ce gouvernement Democratique," at one point, "democratie," at another.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 183.

¹² *Ibid.* Morely's precise words: "Car (comme Aristote dit fort prudemment) comme un banquet, auquel plusieurs apportent leur souppe, est mieux fourny, & plus abundant, que ne seroit le banquet ordinaire d'un, ou de peu de personnes, pareillement en une grande assemblee ou chacun apporte librement son advis & jugement, il y a plus de conseil, & prudence, qu'en conseil quelconque de peu de personnes."

surprising that this part of his argument did not draw more fire and draw it earlier. That it did not may be a demonstration that it seemed somewhat peripheral to the fundamental issues at stake in the minds of the antagonists on both sides. But it may also be owing to a tactical decision made by Morely's principal early opponent, Antoine de la Roche-Chandieu, the most prominent of the Parisian Protestant ministers, who was devoted to Calvin and Beza, and who had been charged by the Reformed synods with the task of formally refuting Morely's program.¹³ Chandieu based his refutation¹⁴ almost entirely upon an extended exegesis of the Biblical passages that Morely had used. He denied flatly that there could be any analogy between civil and ecclesiastical government and therefore rejected any argument about the form of ecclesiastical government drawn from secular authorities or natural reason. He charged, indeed, that argument from analogy was a fundamental source of the fallacies of Morely's entire program.¹⁵ Since he based so much of his attack upon this charge, he could hardly scold Morely for introducing democracy into the church and tax him with the classical arguments against that form of government. And so he avoided the subject altogether and paid no attention to Morely's statements about democracy.

When Beza turned to his public attack on Morely, however, he did not worry about such logical scruples. He did not really have to. Chandieu had prepared his reasoned and complete refutation to Morely's entire program to win back the man's supporters or any Protestants disposed to waver in France. Beza wrote his letters largely to counter the influence of Ramus abroad, in intellectual centers where the details of the controversy and Morely himself were hardly known. Beza was thoroughly Aristotelian in many aspects of his own thought and was fully aware of the classic use of the term "democracy." He could, furthermore, be quite sure that most of his correspondents, and the wider public for whom he published many of these letters, would share this background and this attitude. He therefore seized upon the charge of "democracy" as a useful polemical point to score

¹³ Geneva, BPU, MS fr. 446 *passim*; n.b. Rouvière to Chandieu, Mar. 11, 1566, fols. 72-73.

¹⁴ [Antoine de la Roche-Chandieu,] *La Confirmation de la discipline ecclesiastique observee es eglises reformees du royaume de France. Avec la response aux objections proposees alencontre* ([Geneva and La Rochelle,] 1566). There are copies in Geneva, BPU, Bd 865 and Bd 1999. On its printing history, see E. Droz, "Autour de l'affaire Morély: La Roche Chandieu et Barth. Berton," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, XXII (No. 3, 1960), 570-77.

¹⁵ The argument from analogy seems to have been explicitly repudiated by the particularly normative 1571 La Rochelle synod of the French Reformed church. This is suggested by the text of the synod's acts published in *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, ed. Quick, I, 92, Article V, and decisively confirmed if we can accept as authoritative the manuscript records of the synod's gloss on its Article 32, preserved in *Staatsarchiv Zürich*, E-II 381, fol. 1310, and Geneva, BPU, MS fr. 405, fol. 20. The Zurich MSS reads: "D'avantage la dicte assemblée ratifiant l'Article trente deuxiesme de la dicte Confession à rejehtë & rejette l'erreur de ceux qui veulent abolir la discipline de l'Eglise la confondans avec le gouvernement civil et Politicque des Magistrats. Condamne aussi tous les erreurs qui procedent de telle fausse opinion."

against Morely and his party, employing it again and again. In the most extended of these letters, addressed to Henry Bullinger, leader of the Reformed Church in Zurich and the most influential contemporary Protestant leader of the Zwinglian tradition, Beza charges that Morely has called the French Reformed church government an “oligarchy” or “tyranny” and that he is trying to replace it with the “most troublesome and most seditious democracy.”¹⁶ This particular attack had its desired effect. Bullinger replied that he had not heard of Morely before, but suspected he must belong to the dreadful sect of Anabaptists,¹⁷ a condemnation, which, to Bullinger, may well have been the harshest possible. He could not really believe, however, that Ramus could have held such terrible opinions.

In other letters Beza goes further in developing this line of argument. In one, which he later published, he begins by denying that the church should be “democratic” and argues that it should rather be a “monarchy,” with Jesus Christ as king. He then briefly discusses the role of different orders of clergy, the possibility of “tyranny” arising within an ecclesiastical organization, and relations between clerical and civil authorities. And he returns to the problem of “democracy” by examining and refuting a number of arguments drawn from Scripture by the proponents of more democratic church government.¹⁸

Throughout these letters, Beza constantly uses the classic terms for types of government in discussing his ideal of suitable church government, but is not altogether consistent in his use of these terms. Sometimes his ideal is a “monarchy” governed by Christ. At other times it is dominated by the “aristocratic” principle, embodied in the consistory. But never is it a “democracy.” That term, indeed, is almost invariably coupled with a negatively weighted adjective or two, and Beza is obviously using it as a polemical weapon.

These are the most considered and extended references to “democracy”

¹⁶ “Perturbatissimam et seditiosissimam Democratiam” in Beza to Bullinger, Nov. 13, 1571, *Staatsarchiv Zürich*, E-II 381, fol. 1306v.

¹⁷ Bullinger to Beza, Dec. 4, 1571, published in André Bouvier, *Henri Bullinger, le successeur de Zwingli, d'après sa correspondance avec les réformés et les humanistes de langue française* (Neuchâtel and Paris, 1940), 557–65.

¹⁸ *Epistolarum Theologicarum Theodori Bezae Vezelii, Liber Unus* (Geneva, 1573), 398–403, Letter No. 83, no indication of addressee, date, or place of writing. Cf. Charles Mercier, in “Les théories politiques des calvinistes en France au cours des guerres de religion,” *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*, LXXXIII (Apr.–June 1934), 235, for further comment on this letter, and 233–36 for incisive comment on the significance of the whole controversy in the development of Calvinist political thought. Beza's further letters on this problem, most of them addressed to fellow theologians in German-speaking countries, can be found in this 1573 volume or in Geneva, *Musée historique de la Réformation*, Beza correspondence, a set of transcripts collected for preparation of the critical edition of this illuminating correspondence. Henri Meylan and Alain Dufour, who are preparing the edition, graciously granted me access to this collection.

resulting from the entire controversy. They are very nearly the most complete and the earliest (of which I have knowledge) in the entire Reformation period. They make it clear that there were thinkers, in the earlier stages of the Protestant Reformation, who were quite willing to consider analogies between civil and ecclesiastical government and to apply to one sphere arguments drawn from thought about the best form of government in the other sphere. And at least one of these thinkers was convinced that a "democratic" government was best for the church, and might also be best for civil society.

Direct debate between Morely and Beza did not long survive the St. Bartholomew's massacres, for they were most savage in the very areas where Morely had won support and seem to have wiped out his faction. Beza's personal ascendancy within the French Reformed church was confirmed, and with it the synodical or "presbyterian" form of government that has persisted within that church to the present. The ideas developed during this debate, however, were to appear again in other places and at other times. In English-speaking countries, for example, similar debates were soon joined between Congregational and Presbyterian factions of the Puritan movement, and reached a climax in the 1640's, when radical Britain wrestled with the problem of the proper church polity to substitute for that of Charles I and William Laud. Several of the leading polemicists in that battle cited Morely in passing, generally disparagingly.¹⁹ Arguments from analogy like Beza's were used against the threat of ecclesiastical anarchy even by Congregationalists.

In an even later period, when the battle for democracy had become largely secular, Morely's name was mentioned again. It was cited by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the unhappy Genevan who became the Enlightenment's greatest exponent of political democracy. I have found no evidence, however, that Rousseau knew of Morely's ideas. He discussed the burning of Morely's book in Geneva, but only to argue that the Genevan authorities of his day did not have a similar legal right to burn his *Social Contract*.²⁰

¹⁹ E.g., John Norton, *The Answer to the Whole Set of Questions of the Celebrated Mr. William Apollonius . . .* (London, 1648), tr. and repub. Douglas Horton (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 6. Horton has kindly called to my attention references to Morely in quotations from a 1644 pamphlet by William Rathband, and from two of Robert Baillie's 1643-1644 letters, published in order by Benjamin Hanbury, *Historical Memorials Relating to the Independents or Congregationalists: From Their Rise to the Restoration of the Monarchy*, A.D. MDCLX (3 vols., London, 1839-41), II, 318, 435, 438. For fuller texts and additional references by Baillie, see *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie . . .*, ed. David Laing (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1841-42), II, 115, 155, 165, 179-80, 184, 188, 193. Most of these references are repeated requests for copies of the books by Morely and Chandieu (identified only by his pseudonym "Sadacl"), which Baillie apparently had not seen, but whose basic arguments he knew, perhaps from reference by some such contemporary Dutch scholar as Gysbertus Voetius or William Apollonius.

²⁰ J. J. Rousseau, *Lettres écrites de la montagne* (2 vols., Amsterdam, 1764), I, 190-97, II, 14.

Perhaps further research will uncover yet more evidence of a continuing impact of this sixteenth-century French Protestant dispute. In any event, the quarrel illustrates neatly one of the many perennial problems in relations between state and church. Now we argue less about whether church democracy will lead to a disturbing political democracy, more about whether a beneficent political democracy requires democracy in the church.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General

FREEDOM IN THE WESTERN WORLD: FROM THE DARK AGES TO
THE RISE OF DEMOCRACY. By *Herbert J. Muller*. (New York: Harper
and Row. 1963. Pp. xix, 428. \$8.50.)

WE have here the second volume of Mr. Muller's projected History of Freedom. After dealing with freedom in the ancient world in an earlier volume, he plans to complete the cycle in a later book which will be devoted to the non-Western world. The idea of writing the history of Western civilization with liberty as its focal point is, of course, not new. The first to expound it was Hegel in his famous lectures given to us in *The Philosophy of History*. Lord Acton and Benedetto Croce followed his example.

Muller is aware of the pitfalls inherent in such an undertaking, and he scrutinizes them in his preface. To begin with: "Freedom means freedom of various kinds which all have to be considered." Thus the history of freedom comes to be the history of Western civilization with democratic society as its preordained goal. The author lists as conditions necessary, or at least propitious, for a climate of freedom: "gains in collective wealth and power through commerce and technology that have effectively enlarged the capacities of men and widened the range of his choice." A related concern is creativity in art and thought, which for the author embodies the clearest proof of the reality and value of freedom. He embraces a humanistic creed. All history comes down to cultural history, and the ultimate value of its study consists in its ultimate contribution to the means and ends of man as "a conscious animal who lives by values of his own creation."

The use of the idea of freedom as an organizing center of the history of civilization presents several difficulties. Great parts of Western culture that do not fit the mold must be excluded. Perhaps even more dangerous is the temptation to overemphasize those trends that fit the pattern at the expense of others that cannot be adequately comprehended from the idea of freedom. Thus Muller's book has a definite Protestant, humanistic, Anglo-Saxon slant, and falls short of doing justice to such cultural phenomena as the golden age of Spain or the classical culture of France in the seventeenth century. One could argue that while the idea of freedom is, without doubt, a clearer theme in Western civilization than in any other, it is by no means the only one. Max Weber thought that Western civilization was the gradual realization of rationalism. A case could be made for either approach. I believe that they are not mutually exclusive but, on the contrary, dialectically interrelated.

This brings us to the question: how well can the history of Western man be told by using the idea of freedom as a yardstick? I think that Muller succeeds remarkably well. Though he confesses "with pride as well as humility that there is little, if anything, new in this history except perhaps its focus," it makes good reading. Muller has been content to follow the familiar periodizations, the conventional ages and movements. He begins with a brief look at the rise and fall of Islam. This is followed by a judicious chapter on the medieval world and its breakdown. Quite naturally, the Middle Ages are judged as having been at odds with the ideas of a free society and its pluralistic outlook on cultural values. The flow of freedom gathers momentum with the coming of the Renaissance and the Reformation. Muller holds to a prudent middle path between narrative and evaluation; he is at his best when describing the achievements of kindred minds such as Erasmus, Montaigne, or Francis Bacon. There are some fine pages on Shakespeare and a good chapter on the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century that serve the author as an illustration of the more civilized uses of power for the growth of freedom. Through the Enlightenment we are led into the American and French Revolutions. The story breaks at the end of the eighteenth century.

Muller's book belongs to those essays that Toynbee would qualify as macroscopic, attempts at synthesis and construction, the value of which consists in breadth and width rather than in depth and originality. I agree that such books have their place in historical literature and that they are useful and even invaluable in interpreting the results of historical thought and research to a broader audience. Books of this kind fulfill a function similar to that of the classroom lecturer except that they may reach a larger public than any lecturer can ever hope to capture. *Freedom in the Western World* at times reads like lecture notes on a course in Western civilization. Muller has studied the sources; he is familiar with the controversies that have been raging about one problem or another; and he introduces his readers to an overwhelming mass of material in an intelligent and affable manner. If the gulf between productive scholarship and lay consciousness is ever to be bridged, it will be by works of this kind.

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GESCHICHTE UND GEGENWARTSBEWUSSTSEIN: HISTORISCHE BETRACHTUNGEN UND UNTERSUCHUNGEN. FESTSCHRIFT FÜR HANS ROTHFELS ZUM 70. GEBURTSTAG DARGEBRACHT VON KOLLEGEN, FREUNDEN UND SCHÜLERN. Edited by *Waldemar Besson* and *Friedrich Frhr. Hiller v. Gaertringen*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1963. Pp. 526. DM 48.)

THIS impressive *Festschrift* was presented to Hans Rothfels in honor of his seventieth birthday in 1961. Its twenty essays by colleagues, friends, and students reflect his wide range of intellectual interests and human contacts. The theme of the book, "History and Consciousness of the Present," states a problem familiar

to all historians and one with which Rothfels himself has been much concerned. The contributions fall into three categories: those that make basic observations on the problem; those that seek clarification through research on specific subjects; and those that merely show an awareness of the problem by their choice of subject.

The essays in the first category are the most stimulating, but also the most difficult to do justice to in a brief review. Arnold Bergstraesser ("Historical Consciousness and Political Decision") and Waldemar Besson ("History as a Political Science") discuss, among other things, the uncertain relationship of the present to history and the interdependence of history and politics. James Joll makes some cogent observations on the need for and the difficulties involved in writing contemporary history. Joseph Vogt warns that seeing the past through the eyes of the present may enliven research but endanger truth. Dietrich Gerhard pleads convincingly for the comparative, "configurative" approach to the study of *Zeitgeschichte*. An article by Ernst Walter Zeeden, based on the letters of Jacob Burckhardt, analyzes the peculiarly detached manner in which the famous historian reacted to the stirring events of his day. Karl Dietrich Erdmann makes a similar examination of Immanuel Kant's relation to history. Going back to the writings of Herodotus, Wolfgang Schadewaldt finds much current validity in the Greek historian's striving for objectivity.

The remaining contributions deal with specific historical subjects and are best discussed chronologically. The articles by Erich Maschke ("The Inner Changes in the Order of the Teutonic Knights") and Reinhard Wittram ("The Subjection of Livonia and Estonia 1710") cover areas in which Rothfels himself has long been an authority. Hans Roos shows how and why the concept of nationality in Eastern Europe at the time of the French Revolution differed from that in France and Germany. Werner Conze's article on "The Beginning of the German Labor Movement" points to 1848 as the crucial year. Theodor Schieder examines Italy's contribution to the European idea of a national state in the nineteenth century. The longest contribution is Helmut Krausnick's masterly account of Holstein's attempt to sabotage Bismarck's Russian policy in the spring of 1887. Dietrich Geyer's article on the Russian Social Democrats fruitfully applies a distinction between "ideological history" and "party history," which Rothfels first made thirty years ago.

Five of the articles fall within the chronological range of *Zeitgeschichte*. Friedrich Frhr. Hiller von Gaertringen's suggestive essay on the history and historiography of the "stab in the back" legend shows how changed circumstances and the matter of time can affect historical judgment. Hans Herzfeld, after weighing the many factors that went into appeasement, finds little guilt and much self-deception among British and French leaders. Paul Kluge examines the relationship between domestic and foreign policy in Nazi Germany and finds that the former decisively (and disastrously) determined the latter. Hitler's colonial plans and policies, on which little has hitherto been known, are ably described by Gerhard Weinberg. The most recent subject is treated by Theodor Eschenburg, whose article on "Problems of Modern Party Financing" tries to find an equitable solution to the perennial problem of campaign expenses.

The last, but by no means the least impressive, contribution to this rich volume is a list of Rothfels' own writings compiled by Gotthard Jaspers. It brings up to date the bibliography in an earlier *Festschrift* (*Deutschland und Europa*, edited by Werner Conze [1961]), presented to Rothfels on his sixtieth birthday. Like its predecessor, this latest list testifies to the manifold activities and unflagging creativity of a great historian.

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EUROPÄISCHE HORIZONTE IM DENKEN JACOB BURCKHARDTS:
DREI STUDIEN. By *Werner Kaegi*. (Basel: Benno Schwabe & Co. 1962.
Pp. xi, 183. \$4.25.)

SINCE the publication of his masterful intellectual biography of Jacob Burckhardt, Werner Kaegi has led us to expect from his hand nothing but the finest scholarly work. Perhaps more than any living historian, he has demonstrated that rare historiographical gift so prized by Burckhardt himself: to use "the small and particular as a symbol of the great and the whole." One could then expect that, in examining three minor aspects of Burckhardt's work—the contributions of England, Spain, and the Low Countries to European history—Kaegi might illuminate Burckhardt and his intellectual environment. Only in the essay on England is one's expectation fulfilled, and there with qualifications.

The author characterizes his three essays as "nothing but sketches." Two of them, "Spain and the Counter-Reformation in the Work of Jacob Burckhardt" and "The Flowering of the Low Countries and Italian Classicism in the Thought of Jacob Burckhardt," originated as lectures designed to show audiences in Spain and the Low Countries how Burckhardt regarded their histories and cultures. Some of the findings are of indubitable interest; for example, how Burckhardt transformed the conception of the Jesuits and the Spanish Counter Reformation from "a sectarian or Enlightenment caricature" into a historical picture; or how the still-vivid memory of the Spanish folk revolt against Napoleon influenced Burckhardt's view of Spanish culture. Yet these points are but reiterations of what Kaegi had said in a richer context in the biography.

By contrast, "Jacob Burckhardt and the English-speaking World" contains new material. In the form of a loose florilegium it brings together Burckhardt's impressions of England's past, present, and—Burckhardt being Burckhardt—future; his intellectual reception in the English-speaking world; and some speculations on the affinities and possible personal contacts between Burckhardt and his Anglo-Saxon counterparts, Henry Adams and Lord Acton. The last two topics are so unconvincingly treated that one can only advise the reader to skip pages 72–99. To the description of Burckhardt's ideas of English civilization, however, Kaegi has brought his command of the sources fully to bear. Particularly illuminating are Burckhardt's reactions to London. The Basel patrician, sensitive as always to the physiognomy of places, became fascinated by the modern megalopolis. Not merely the ugliness of London's new architecture but also its scale impressed him

as "Asiatic," "Oriental." Burckhardt saw flashes of genius in the execution of buildings where too often we see nought but historical imitation. "It was . . . instructive to see 'what ideas architects hit upon when one gives them little space but much money, and demands of them the stately and the monumental, as do banks, insurance companies and other institutions, in order to instill the proper respect in their customers and stockholders.'" Here the architect is shown, perhaps for the first time, as projecting the corporate image.

"'It is written,' Burckhardt wrote regretfully, 'that one can see the National Gallery only on the condition of becoming temporary fellow citizen of four and one half million so-called souls.'" The small-town patrician, though in general detesting the modern spirit of business and bigness, recognized that it provided the necessary foundation for the great museums which he so highly valued.

Burckhardt's attitude toward England's past and future might best be called one of unimpassioned appreciation. He saw English history through continental eyes, but without the rose-colored glasses through which his orthodox Liberal contemporaries viewed the mother of parliaments. Kaegi shows that England nevertheless had an important place in Burckhardt's feelings about the future of European civilization. I say "feelings" rather than "ideas" because Burckhardt did not in fact refine his emotions about England, the America of his day, into thoughts on the social process. Perhaps his failure to do so was part of his blindness to the contributions of economic activity to cultural and political life. One may expect a clarification of this question in the next volume of Kaegi's biography, where Burckhardt's image of England will doubtless be studied in its context and without the intrusion of those irrelevancies that disturb even the best of these three essays.

University of California, Berkeley

CARL E. SCHORSKE

ON REVOLUTION. By *Hannah Arendt*. (New York: Viking Press. 1963. Pp. 343. \$6.50.)

THIS book is an attempt to elucidate the significance of revolutions and the revolutionary tradition since the eighteenth century through an extended discussion of the American and French Revolutions. On the author's terms it should be a major exercise in scholarship, for she holds that our political vocabulary dates back either to classical antiquity, or "can be traced unequivocally" to the eighteenth century.

In the early chapters she distinguishes among wars, revolutions, and rebellions, and gives special attention to the content of the word "revolution" since the seventeenth century. Her conclusion is that a revolution, strictly speaking, must include a sense of novelty, "*novus ordo seclorum*. . .," a notion of irresistibility, and a struggle for freedom from oppression. One of the main themes binding together the following chapters is: how do we account for the different outcomes of the two great revolutions in their own birthplaces? On the one hand, she says explicitly that the Americans had a triple advantage: they did not have to contend

with either mass poverty or with a tradition of monarchical absolutism, and the general population had wide experience in self-government. Thus it would appear that circumstances strongly favored the American revolutionaries. On the other hand she is equally clear in her judgment of the "superior wisdom of the American founders in theory and practice." Adams and Jefferson represent American wisdom. Rousseau, Robespierre, and Saint-Just represent philosophical and political naïveté on the French side, a naïveté leading to "absurdities" and "blunders" in the pursuit of a new political and social order.

Regardless of the immediate outcome, the author grants that during the past 150 years the position of the two appear reversed. The French Revolution continues to have a fateful fascination for both revolutionaries and their opponents, while ignorance of the American Revolution abroad is matched by the current fear of revolution in this country. Her only explanation for this phenomenon is that American interest in political theory "dried up almost immediately" after our task had been achieved, while European thinkers lavished a great amount of thought upon the French Revolution.

Finally, she contends that each revolution since the eighteenth century owed much of its early success to the spontaneous organized response coming from townships, *sociétés révolutionnaires*, soviets, and *Räte*, but once the revolutions were completed, no really effective provision has ever been made for a continuing grass-roots participation in the shaping of freedom.

This book is consistent with her earlier work. There is a constant ground of reference in the experience of classical antiquity, a sensitivity to the nuance of language typical of Germanic philology, a concern for the fate of the person in the complexity of the twentieth century, and a capacity for the keen *aperçu* reminiscent of Tocqueville. Her forte is social and political thought, and among the dance of abstractions one longs occasionally for the firm empirical grounding on the same subject found in Palmer's *The Age of the Democratic Revolution*. If her writing does have a sere quality now and then, it may be the price she has to pay for working in the grand tradition of political philosophy.

Michigan State University

STANLEY J. IDZERDA

LA SCIENCE MODERNE (DE 1450 À 1800). By *G. Allard et al.* Published under the direction of *René Taton*. [Histoire générale des sciences, Volume II.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1958. Pp. vii, 800.)

THE great enterprise of a general history of science, undertaken in France under the direction of René Taton, has now reached the second volume. While the first tome covered centuries by the dozen, extending to the end of the Middle Ages, the second covers the crucial period 1450–1800. Here we have the creation of what we call science, emerging from a welter of medieval and Renaissance motifs confusing in their richness and variety. The treatment might have become useless, if it had reflected in addition, among its collaborators, the many uncertainties of

criteria in the history of science, caught as it is between its Baconian and naïvely inductivist precedents and its more recent and more truly historical criteria, which aim at restoring in its fullness the actual intellectual situation at a given moment. Fortunately, the project has been taken in hand by three leaders of acknowledged expertise, A. Koyré for physics, G. Canguilhem for biology, and Taton for mathematics; thus this volume is outstanding for coordination and coherence of style and treatment, a feature somewhat lacking in the previous French enterprise of the "Pléiade" series. We have here at last the "new look" in a general history of science.

Three periods were marked out, each provided with an introduction and with its own bibliography: Renaissance (1450-1620), seventeenth century, and eighteenth century. Among the introductions it is right to single out that on the scientific revolution in the seventeenth century by the late Fr. R. Lenoble, the last contribution of a distinguished career. A weak point in all general histories has been the seventeenth century itself, with its bewildering interplay of already abstruse technicalities and metaphysical speculation, but now that defect has been remedied. The birth of mathematical physics in the "Age of Victorious Analysis," as Whitehead called it, is an intricate, difficult subject that requires high conceptual and philosophical skill above that of the normal historian of science, and be he formed to mathematics like the late F. Dugas. Whence the wasteland that confronts us when we try to build up a course on the subject. One easy way out has been shown by a recent American book, otherwise very respectable, on that period. It consists in putting England at the center of the stage, and treating France by preterition. The reader wonders what happened to that complex, highly sophisticated line of thought that went through Descartes, Fermat, Roberval, Pascal, Huygens, and Leibniz. That issue has been faced at last by a team formed by G. Itard, R. Lenoble, and P. Costabel. Their treatment shirks no difficulties, but is clear, integrated, and concise. It shows the way in which a true intellectual history of the period can eventually develop.

If the rest of the contributions cover better-known ground, it does not detract from the excellence of such pieces as those of Taton, J. Rostand, M. Daumas, P. Guyénot, P. Delaunay, and a number of others, who have held themselves so strictly to group discipline as to give a unity of style and thought to the whole work. Even the names of the collaborators are removed from the chapters and given only in the table of contents. The mind of Koyré is felt not only in his own ample contribution: it shows itself in the historical maturity of the present generation of French researchers. Some slight reservations might be made to the treatment of the chemical revolution by Daumas, which maintains the Lavoisierian optic throughout against British theory, a field where American research has done much to establish a better perspective. One begins to wonder then if the situation is not reversed, and whether English science has not been skimmed. But in previous chapters by the same author we find ample and worthy treatment of English research and of phlogistonism. In fact, for those who like statistics, a quick look

at the index will show us that Boyle and Hooke both have twenty-six entries, whereas Pascal, Lagrange, and Lavoisier, three idols of French science, get only twenty, and Kepler, for a measure, gets forty. This seems to indicate strict impartiality.

The compass of the opus, already huge, could not allow for a treatment of the history of technology. It comes in only incidentally, but judiciously, and so does economic history.

A fourth and last part deals briefly with extra-European developments during those three centuries: North America by I. B. Cohen, Spanish America by Mme. J. Taton, India by J. Filliozat, the Far East by J. Chesnaux and J. Needham.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

GIORGIO DE SANTILLANA

THE SCIENTIFIC INTELLECTUAL: THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL ORIGINS OF MODERN SCIENCE. By *Lewis S. Feuer*. (New York: Basic Books. 1963. Pp. xii, 441. \$10.00.)

PROFESSOR of philosophy and social sciences and chairman of the Social Sciences Integrated Course at the University of California, Berkeley, Lewis S. Feuer approaches the relationships between scientific creativity and the social and psychological order using the methods of historical sociology and psychoanalysis. Although ostensibly probing the origins of modern science, he virtually ignores the solid historical works of Herbert Butterfield and A. R. Hall on that subject in order to do battle with the sociologists. Feuer's chief enemy is Robert K. Merton's view of the scientist as a Protestant ascetic (an extension of Weber's thesis regarding the Protestant ethic and capitalism) outlined in Merton's *Social Theory and Social Structure* and in his earlier "Science, Technology, and Society in 17th Century England" (*Osiris*, IV [Pt. 2, 1938]). While passing, Feuer also takes aim at Arthur Koestler's interpretation of the early modern scientists as "sleepwalkers." Although Weber's sociology was conceived as an alternative to historical materialism, Feuer claims that Marxian sociologists do not dissent from the thesis of Protestant asceticism as basic to the rise of science in the seventeenth century.

In place of the Protestant ethic, in place of historical materialism, in place of theological "sleepwalking," Feuer advances his own explanation: "The scientific intellectual was born from the hedonist-libertarian spirit which, spreading through Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, directly nurtured the liberation of human curiosity." To accomplish this psychological revolution which made possible the birth of modern science, the hedonistic-libertarian ethic had to overcome "masochistic asceticism," both of the "mother-centered" Roman Catholic variety and the "father-centered" Protestant variety. What was this hedonist-libertarian spirit? "Not asceticism, but satisfaction; not guilt, but joy in the human status; not self-abnegation, but self-affirmation; not original sin, but original merit and worth; not gloom, but merriment; not contempt for one's body and one's senses, but delight in one's physical being; not the exaltation of pain, but the hymn

to pleasure—this was the emotional basis of the scientific movement of the seventeenth century.” Perhaps Feuer’s most original contribution is his vocabulary; hedonistic-libertarianism seems remarkably like what an older generation of historians called “secular humanism.”

Feuer tests his sociopsychological generalization by applying it to the Copernican revolution, medieval nominalism, eighteenth-century Scotsmen, nineteenth-century Jews, Napoleonic France, Asian civilizations, and American science. As is often the case with those who are attempting to prove a thesis, Feuer overlooks some historical data that might controvert his thesis, oversimplifies the position of his antagonists, obfuscates with jargon, and explains away embarrassing evidence. Nevertheless, he presents many interesting and often profound insights, challenging the unexamined acceptance of many current interpretations in the history of ideas and reminding historians to look behind the statistical evidence, as when he dissects Dorothy Stimson’s findings regarding the preponderance of Puritans among the original members of the Royal Society.

Despite the psychoanalytical nonsense, the distortions, the omissions, the oversimplifications, and the downright factual errors, this is an important book. The author’s sociopsychological methodology provides us with provocative and stimulating insights, and historians will ignore his challenging thesis at their own peril.

Case Institute of Technology

MELVIN KRANZBERG

THE MAN ON HORSEBACK: THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN POLITICS. By *S. E. Finer*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1962. Pp. 268. \$6.50.)

CLEMENCEAU once said that war was too serious a business to be left in the hands of the generals. Recent history would seem to indicate that the soldiers have answered this gibe by setting out to demonstrate that politics is too serious a business for civilians. Of the fifty-one states that existed in the world in Clemenceau’s time, all but nineteen have suffered military coups since 1917, and fifteen of the twenty-eight states created between 1917 and 1955 have had the same experience. It would be difficult to give an accurate count of the military revolutions since 1955 or the veiled or open military dictatorships that exist in the world at the present time, but the number is certainly large.

What are the laws governing military intervention in politics? What factors inhibit or encourage political activity by the military? In what kind of countries is it likely to take place? What are the modes of intervention in countries of developed political culture as opposed to countries of low or even minimal political culture? And what, in general, are the results of military subversion of civilian authority? These are some of the problems that Professor Finer has posed for himself in this book, and he has treated them with perceptiveness and wit, and with some fascinating analyses of modern techniques of the *coup d’état*.

From the remarkable amount of data that he has accumulated, Finer concludes that the kind of political activity by soldiers that goes on around us daily is a

distinctly modern phenomenon without real precedent before 1789. Specifically, it has resulted from the operation of five factors that emerged from the French Revolution: nationalism, the doctrine of popular sovereignty, the tendency of popular armies toward subversion, the rise of the professionalized officer corps, and the emergence of new states as a result of the breakdown of the old colonial empires. Finer describes the ways in which these forces have provided the opportunities and determined the motives and methods of modern soldier-politicians with a host of examples, and his conclusions concerning the effect of military intervention on the maturity and stability of the states affected merit careful attention. In general, he finds the excuses for military intervention specious and the results bad, but, given the historical forces at work, he sees little likelihood that military activity in the political sphere will diminish in the near future.

Stanford University

GORDON A. CRAIG

RUSSKO-IAPONSKIE OTNOSHENIIA V 1697-1875 GG. [Russo-Japanese Relations, 1697-1875]. By *E. Ia. Fainberg*. (Moscow: Publishing House for Oriental Literature. 1960. Pp. 312.)

PROFESSOR Esfir' Iakovlevna Fainberg of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations traces the history of early Russo-Japanese relations in terms of five stages: the Russian discovery of Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands and the drawing nearer of the geographical boundaries of Russia and Japan (mid-seventeenth to the eighteenth century); Russian attempts to establish commercial relations with Japan (1792-1852); the establishment of such commercial relations (1853-1858); negotiation concerning the recognition of Russian rights on southern Sakhalin (1859-1868); and the delineation of the Russo-Japanese frontier (1869-1875). Her account is readable, straightforward, and, on the whole, scholarly and sound. Its main value lies in the citation of Russian archival material closed to Westerners.

The fact that the introduction begins with "K. Marx" and the text ends with quotations from N. S. Khrushchev and *Pravda* and that the author buttresses the "historicity" of Soviet claims to the whole of Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands is not surprising, considering the handicaps under which Soviet historians must labor. The implication that American scholars are similarly inhibited in their pursuit of truth, that they cannot (or will not) be objective, and that they write whatever benefits the foreign policy of their country, in short that in the United States, too, history is a weapon of the state, goes more against the grain. In the preface the author accuses Professor John A. Harrison of the University of Florida of "falsifying" history in writing of Russian aggression toward Japan and goes on to say: "Such falsification of history is made use of to spread slander about the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The tendency to whiten the colonial policy of the U.S.A., England and France and blacken the actions of Russia has had an influence also on the noted American historian D. A. Lensen, who denies

the historical rights of the Russians on Sakhalin and the Kurils and even questions their priority in the opening and settlement of the northern Kuril Islands." I (*D* stands for "Dzhordzh") called on Professor Fainberg in Moscow and discussed these and other points, but failed to convince her that my conclusions were the product of my sources rather than of my citizenship. The issue is not a personal one; it is whether "bourgeois historians" (and their Soviet counterparts) can remove the blinders of their "class."

The book, it should be repeated, is important. Unlike so many Soviet works, which are based primarily on sources in English, it draws on Russian archival material as well as on studies in Japanese. It deserves careful perusal.

Florida State University

GEORGE ALEXANDER LENSEN

COMMUNITY AND CONTENTION: BRITAIN AND AMERICA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By *Bruce M. Russett*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 252. \$7.00.)

THIS is more a work of political science, or even sociology, than of history; perhaps it can be more precisely described as an attempt to handle historical materials with sociological tools. Many historians may feel doubts, not about the marked ability and the sincere scholarship of Dr. Russett, but about the utility of the whole method. Many political scientists and almost all sociologists will certainly look on these doubts as examples of the restrictiveness, indeed the unenterprising fuddy-duddism, of the pure historical method. I find myself torn between the two extremes. Thus, from the historical point of view, Chapter 1 contains an excellent summary of the accepted history of Anglo-American diplomatic relations since 1890, but when, from Chapter 11 on, the book shifts to "a different kind of theoretical framework," to the sort of model suggested by K. W. Deutsch *et al.* in *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area* (1957), the historian may well feel a growing skepticism about the amount that is added to the sum of our knowledge by the remaining eleven-twelfths of the study. There is some of the jargon so often inseparable from sociology, maddening to simple historians: for example, the key, opening sentence of the important section, "The System Applied," in Chapter 11: "In this study we shall use the term 'integration' to refer to the process of building capabilities for responsiveness relative to the loads put on the capabilities." But more serious seems the weakness of the whole rigid, procrustean, structure, which is revealed by the author's criticism of the very model from which he draws his inspiration: for instance, "Deutsch's list of variables suffers from the fact that it is not always clear which indices are meant as measures of capabilities and which of loads." These misgivings of the historian are perhaps most fully illustrated, however, by Russett's own reservation on page 29: "The responsiveness of A to B is thus largely a function of the ratio of the capabilities for responsiveness which A directs toward B over the loads coming from B to A at any given time. *Actually, the process is not so mechanical as this formulation may make it appear* [italics

mine].” Is it not this fact that so often vitiates the perhaps premature efforts of sociologists to fit the rich, complex, and variable events and even trends of human history into any fixed pattern, however elaborate, painstaking, and brilliant?

This is not to say that *Community and Contention* fails to illuminate this still fundamentally important question of the strength of the Anglo-American relationship; it is certainly a serious contribution to that “determined effort” in this field of study for which its author calls, and it contains a number of most interesting and illuminating insights (his thorough analyses, for example, of investment, of diplomatic representation, and of the legislatures, and his figures of student travel and tourism). It is quite understandable that the author may dislike the hit-and-miss, pragmatic, unsystematic guesses of historians about coming events (and doubtless he is right to mistrust “the weakness of such optimism as H. C. Allen’s,” a perhaps facile tendency to be sanguine about the future of Anglo-American relations), but we in our turn may doubt how far it is possible, certainly in the present state of our knowledge, “to measure” so living, so changeable, so multifarious, and so impalpable a phenomenon as Anglo-American “responsiveness with precision.” But at least all who labor in this vineyard are agreed on the indispensable nature of the toil and on the supreme desirability of bringing it ever closer to a successful conclusion. Russett has worked in it with perception, integrity, and industry.

University College, London

H. C. ALLEN

HOW THE FAR EAST WAS LOST: AMERICAN POLICY AND THE
CREATION OF COMMUNIST CHINA, 1941-1949. By *Anthony Kubek*.
(Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. 1963. Pp. xv, 480. \$8.75.)

THIS is a curious and profoundly disturbing book. The author’s purpose is to show how treason or stupidity on the part of a small number of American Foreign Service Officers and Far Eastern specialists created conditions that resulted in the triumph of Communism on the Chinese mainland. The evidence he has assembled indicates that before 1950 many of those who influenced American policy toward China were sympathetic to Chinese Communism and mistaken about its aims. Yet, for a variety of reasons, serious readers will find Kubek’s book unacceptable. Much of his information comes from periodicals and authors affiliated with the extreme Right Wing of American politics. He likewise relies heavily on the testimony of Albert Wedemeyer, Patrick Hurley, and others whose knowledge of China was gained largely from association with high-ranking members of Chiang Kai-shek’s regime. His own approach is not only polemical but frequently irresponsible. Certainly, it is difficult to take seriously the words of a writer who suggests that the Marshall Plan was designed to help Communism and that foreign aid is a Communist plot to weaken the United States by depleting its gold reserves.

Glaring inconsistencies have crept into Kubek’s book, moreover, because of his eagerness to exploit every opportunity to discredit American policies in China be-

fore 1950. For example, he extols Chiang Kai-shek as a lifelong anti-Communist, but defends Japan's efforts to destroy Chiang's power on the ground that the Japanese were acting to prevent the spread of Communism in China. Equally mystifying is his extravagant admiration for Hurley since he condemns Marshall for carrying out Hurley's policy of trying to end civil war in China by persuading the Communists and the Nationalists to form a coalition government under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. Furthermore, he makes liberal use of innuendo and pejorative language in an attempt to destroy the reputations of Marshall and other Americans critical of the Kuomintang.

Besides being violently prejudiced and not very scrupulous, Kubek also is unfamiliar with much of the history of modern China and Japan. In a book purporting to relate the inside story of what happened in the Far East during the 1940's, there is no mention of any sources written in Chinese or Japanese; nor has the author bothered to consult most of the major works in Western languages. Missing from his bibliography are books like F. F. Liu's military history of China, Hugh Byas' study of Japanese militarism during the 1930's, Charles McLane's inquiry into the relations between the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist party after 1935, and Graham Peck's monumental description of wartime disintegration in unoccupied China, as well as important works on the history of Chinese Communism by Benjamin Schwartz, Conrad Brandt, Robert North, Michael Lindsay, Robert Riggs, George E. Taylor, and Chalmers Johnson. This explains why Kubek ignores or grossly oversimplifies the forces that brought the Communists to power in China, such as the crisis produced by the impact of population growth on a stagnant economy, the mass movement in Communist occupied areas, Communist military policies and the rise of Chinese nationalism in response to the Japanese invasion, economic and social decay under the Nationalists, and the progressive alienation of Chinese intellectuals from both the liberal humanism of the West and the more traditional doctrines preached by the Kuomintang. It also accounts for his ridiculous assumption that the Chinese Communists have been subservient to the Soviet Union throughout the history of their movement.

Kubek's ignorance allows him to advance the preposterous notion that the fate of a great nation having a population of more than 600,000,000 was decided by the actions of a handful of Americans. This is propaganda, not scholarship.

Duke University

DONALD G. GILLIN

AMERICA'S FAILURE IN CHINA, 1941-50. By *Tang Tsou*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1963. Pp. xvii, 614. \$12.50.)

THE sad story of a half-century of American-Chinese relations moving in the 1940's from friendship to enmity, from "Open Door" to blockade and isolation is well analyzed and told in this volume. The author, professor of political science and son of a Kuomintang elder, shows insight into China's internal politics and

into Sino-American diplomatic affairs through his extensive reading of documents and books of the last two decades while doing research and teaching at the University of Chicago. Frank, critical, and scholarly, he has produced a thought-provoking, if not occasionally controversial book for experts and nonexperts.

Starting with Hay's Open Door policy Dr. Tsou has traced Theodore Roosevelt's acquiescence in Russo-Japanese special positions in Manchuria, the Lansing-Ishii Agreement, Hoover's inaction after the Mukden crisis, and so forth. Then with more detail he analyzed Franklin Roosevelt's determination to make China a Great Power in order to stabilize the Far Eastern situation after the war. He criticized Roosevelt's recklessness in making promises without bargaining and in rejecting the *quid pro quo* policy. After the Cairo Conference Roosevelt began to have doubts, as Churchill had had, about the prospects of China as a Great Power. Then the US policy was to bring the Nationalists and Communists into a coalition government. To Ambassador Patrick Hurley, "Chiang was the best man in Asia for the United States to support." To John S. Service, a diplomat, Edgar Snow, and others, Chinese Communists were democrats or agrarian reformers. To Tsou, Chiang is a master of political maneuvers and of divide and rule. He outmaneuvered Stalin; he played Chennault against Stilwell. Supported by the C. C. Clique and Whampoa Clique, he made himself irresistible. He induced Vice-President Wallace to recommend General Albert Wedemeyer to replace General Stilwell in 1944, but Wallace could not persuade him to make economic and agrarian reforms for the stability of his regime. After the recall of Stilwell, Hurley failed to seize an opportunity to press the Nationalists to undertake basic reforms; nor did his policy—US-Soviet cooperation with the Nationalists to bring the Chinese Communists to terms—score any success. Hurley resigned in November 1945. His successor, General George C. Marshall, also failed to bring the Nationalists and Communists together. Recalled in January 1947, Marshall soon became Secretary of State. Wedemeyer's "fact-finding" report recommended a program of economic assistance to China "over a period of at least five years" and an American military intervention to prevent Communist conquest of China. The report was suppressed by Marshall personally, "the most unnecessary and unfortunate action of the administration," which could only adopt a program of "limited assistance," according to Tsou. General Marshall represented the traditional view that American interests in China were not worth a war. Hence the State Department in October 1948 had written off China, including Formosa; it adopted a hands-off, wait-and-see policy until the Korean War broke out in June 1950 when the United States began to rush forces to Korea and ordered the Seventh Fleet to protect Formosa.

The reasons for American failure in China include the American political tradition to view alien things in terms of an image of one's self; misunderstanding of Chinese political tradition and Chinese character; and general ignorance of Communism, for example, John Carter Vincent, a diplomat in China for many years, "had not read any work of Chinese Communist leaders." On the ig-

norant list many famous scholars are named, an open challenge by a young American citizen. This book surely merits our attention. Though well documented, it has no bibliography at the end.

Indiana University

S. Y. TENG

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1956-1958. By *G. Barraclough*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 618. \$14.40.)

NORMALITY is but a relative condition that in our time means little more than the absence of, or the interval between, occasions of unusually sharp tension. The two-year span surveyed in the present volume opens with sharp crisis indeed, but also one of an unusual nature. The Israeli action against Egypt, followed by the Anglo-French intervention, gave an unexpected twist to the Near Eastern situation. In the larger context of world affairs the consequence was a momentary conjunction of American and Soviet positions. Thus, militarily defeated Egypt was rescued, the United Nations providing a convenient agency for the laborious task of restoring order out of the Suez imbroglio. The sharp disruption of the Western alliance caused by these happenings was, however, but a passing episode, as was the simultaneous disturbance in the Communist camp that centered around Polish and Hungarian events, especially the latter, which brought about ruthless Soviet intervention.

Each major side in the East-West contest was, or seemed, temporarily weakened, but, in actual fact, "the suspicion that Hungary had impaired the Soviet system in Eastern Europe and that Suez had done the same to the western alliance may well have continued as an important contributory factor in the rigidity of major east-west relations during this period." Thus, the aftermath, in 1957, was a period of fence mending in both camps with a tendency to restoring the normality of tensions between them; neither felt sufficient confidence in itself or trust in the other to enable it to make appreciable concessions. What approaches there were toward relaxing tensions remained tentative and abortive.

The successful launching of the first Russian Sputnik in October 1957 was further contribution to rigidity of positions. For if it was an obvious asset to the Soviet armory and prestige that induced gloom and self-doubts in America, it also inevitably acted on the latter as a spur to close the gap of disadvantage rather than as an inducement to compromise out of either weakness or fear.

But this fundamentally unchanged condition of East-West relations does not mean that the world situation was static. The recovery of Western Europe and the signing of the Treaty of Rome were the solid foundations for reconsidering the bases of the Atlantic alliance, while in the Communist camp a corresponding phenomenon was the prosperity of the seeds of heterodoxy, whether Yugoslav or Chinese. In the Near East more than ever American influence displaced the vanishing British, while in the rest of the world the process of imperial devolution went

on, even gathered momentum, and the problems of the underdeveloped regions continued to call for action that did not always fit the predilections of the principal holders of power. It is out of the struggle of emergent nationalities that the Fifth French Republic was born, but the chief consequences of that upturn will be found in subsequent volumes. The present one, more of a collective undertaking than usual, and perhaps for that reason containing a certain amount of repetition, maintains the high standard that one has come to expect from that most useful contribution to the contemporary record that is the *Survey of International Affairs*.

Barnard College

RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ

Ancient and Medieval

EXCAVATIONS AT GÖZLÜ KULE, TARSUS. Volume III, THE IRON AGE. Part 1, TEXT; Part 2, PLATES. By *Hetty Goldman et al.* Edited by *Hetty Goldman*. [Publication of the Institute for Advanced Study.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1963. Pp. 426; 181 plates, 7 plans. \$40.00 the set.)

THE third, and last, volume on the excavations at Gözlü Kule fills the gap in the archaeological story between the Bronze Age, Volume II, and the later Hellenistic periods, Volume I. It contains the report on the Iron Age, covering roughly the eleventh to the sixth century B.C.

Except in Palestine the archaeological chronology of this period in the Levant is ill-defined, and a stratified site in the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean is very valuable. The building level of the Iron Age immediately succeeding the last Bronze Age occupation is ruinous and scanty, and in the small area excavated, the three upper levels show a succession of four rebuildings. These are dated largely by pottery with slightly arbitrary divisions, but the third period, termed Assyrian, is more securely fixed by cuneiform tablets found in the floors. One of these was dated, which enables the destruction period beneath to be attributed to Sennacherib's campaign of 696 B.C. in Cilicia. The last phase indicates continued occupation in the sixth century after which there is a gap.

The assemblage of material is meager except for a great deal of pottery. But for a few seals and scarabs, discussed by Miss Porada, a little metal work, and some terracotta figurines, there is not much comparative material. The pottery section, however, by Professor Hanfmann, which forms the greater part of the volume, is doubly valuable as much material comes from a kiln site. This gives a conspectus of pottery made in Tarsus in the second, Middle Iron Age period before the Assyrian destruction, after which the kilns were not again used. As is already known, the Cilician painted pottery bears a close resemblance to Cypriot wares, but Hanfmann's detailed study has emphasized the regional difference by dis-

tinguishing the Cypriot imports from the Tarsian. Comparable material is also found in such north Syrian sites as Al Mina, and in the Amuq Plain, but again the regional grouping is evident, and Palestinian and Anatolian parallels appear to be peripheral.

The Tarsus evidence supports the need for a slight revision in the distribution of pottery types within the Cypriot chronology, but apart from the Cypriot imported pottery, the Greek imports are perhaps more important. The occurrence of Protogeometric and Geometric in the earliest levels, and proto-Corinthian, Ionian, and Cycladic cups in the Middle Iron Age level before Sennacherib's destruction is of real importance to Greek pottery chronology and trade in the Near East. An appendix on the analysis of Tarsian pottery is useful for the future definition of Tarsian wares.

This long-awaited volume, maintaining the high standard of its predecessors, will be welcomed by students of this little-documented period in the Near East.

University of London

JOAN DU PLAT TAYLOR

THE ANCIENT GREEKS: AN INTRODUCTION TO THEIR LIFE AND THOUGHT. By *M. I. Finley*. (New York: Viking Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 177. \$5.00.)

THE GREEKS. By *A. Andrewes et al.* Edited by *Hugh Lloyd-Jones*. (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company. 1962. Pp. xii, 262. \$4.50.)

THESE books are now the best brief introductions to Greek life and thought, even though they do not eclipse Zimmern's *The Greek Commonwealth*. They are judicious, accurate, and sympathetic. Neither is stylistically compelling or sparkling.

Finley's work has the obvious merit of single authorship, and it is probably the one to be recommended first to the general reader; he can then go on to *The Greeks*, in which the treatment is more detailed. Finley has a reflective mind and often gets beneath the surface with a really telling observation. For example, he suggests that Cleisthenes of Athens, the admitted founder of democracy, "was no theorist and seems to have become a democrat virtually by accident, turning to the common people when he urgently needed their support." Again, he notes that Delphi never recommended peace on the ground that it was good in itself, and that no one in antiquity ever said that slavery should be abolished because it was morally wrong. He is strongest when discussing Greek social life in the broadest sense, including politics, war, philosophy, and popular ethics. On the other hand, he devotes less than four pages to post-Homeric poetry and then quotes Pindar alone; other forms of literature are also half-treated though in passing, Finley strikes home with the remark, which should be shouted from the housetops, that the tragedians' "private political views remain very elusive (one is reminded of Shakespeare)." The book would be even better if it contained a central theme. There could also be more references to sources; for example, Plutarch's *Lycurgus*

is a colorful source for Spartan life and should be cited. Sometimes, too, Finley makes apparently matter-of-fact statements that will be recognized as controversial only by the specialist. This is slightly unfortunate when the statement itself does not add much to the argument. For instance, the remark, "It seems to have taken Thucydides a long time to make up his mind about the underlying cause of the Peloponnesian War," seems to me false or at best undemonstrable. I must also question the reference to the eponymous Athenian archon as "the highest official of the state." The bibliography is a mixture of the right modern books and quite outdated ones; some older books are misleadingly cited by the dates of reprints (Bury's *Ancient Greek Historians* is actually a book of 1909, not 1958).

The Greeks is longer and more erudite; in fact, Huxley's chapter on mathematics and astronomy—subjects about which I know nothing—may even be too scholarly for the purpose. The chapter on the visual arts occupies seventy-two pages, a surprising contrast with the thirteen allotted to philosophy. Here the editor should have maintained proportion; he should also have achieved a uniform style in the bibliographies. His own chapter on tragedy is authoritative, but I cannot applaud his selection of Sophocles' *Trachiniae* as the specimen play in a book for the public. Dover's chapter on post-Homeric literature is one of the best, although he, like Finley, deliberately ignores nearly everything written after Plato. Indeed, both books acquiesce too readily in Oxford's habit of closing Greek history at 404 B.C. Badian's chapter on the Hellenistic age partly redeems *The Greeks* from this charge, and it dwarfs Finley's eight pages on the period, pages that seem added out of a sense of duty. Such foreshortening of Greek history can have serious consequences when it permits a Toynbee to consider everything after 431 as already within an age of decline. One result of this unbalanced conception is that the most famous man in Greek history—Alexander the Great—is adequately discussed in neither book.

University of California, Los Angeles

MORTIMER CHAMBERS

PERSIA AND THE GREEKS: THE DEFENCE OF THE WEST, C. 546-478

B.C. By *Andrew Robert Burn*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1962. Pp. xvi, 586. \$13.50.)

WITH this volume on the Persian War, Professor Burn has completed his bold project of writing a readable narrative of early Greek history, the previous installments being *Minoans, Philistines and Greeks* (1930), *The World of Hesiod* (1936), and *The Lyric Age of Greece* (1960). A less determined man might have flinched from the task of treating this controversial period on such a generous scale, yet the author cuts a clear path through the jungle of controversy along which the reader moves at a leisurely pace, but with a growing conviction that he will win through in the end. In the text itself nothing is allowed to interrupt the sense of movement, but in the footnotes the observant reader can see the price that has been paid to obtain a smooth narrative. The great virtue of this book is that the

author presents all the evidence, good and bad, without disguising its limitations and with copious references to the conflicting views of modern scholars from Beloch and Meyer, Macan, Myres, and How and Wells down to the latest articles, even including some not yet in print. Those who cannot accept his interpretation will find their doubts recognized and documented with rare candor in the notes.

Many problems in the history of this period can never be solved except by the recovery of further evidence. Our chief reliance must be on Herodotus, yet Herodotus depended on information he obtained when the leaders who made policy on both sides were already dead. The veterans with whom he spoke had been young men at Salamis, children during the Ionian Revolt. Meanwhile the war had become a legend in which the colorful stories of old soldiers and sailors had played their part. Then, too, later political developments had led to distortions of the record in the interests of the successors of Miltiades and Themistocles, Cleomenes and Pausanias to positions of authority. A Spartan version had grown up to justify Thermopylae while the Athenians had not been slow to claim even more glory than their fathers had won on the battlefield. Delphi also had tried to explain away Apollo's bad judgment after the event. Further, the Athenian Empire, which had grown out of the conflict, had aroused violent opposition by the time Herodotus wrote, and that opposition tended to interpret the events of the Persian War for purposes of its own. When we add to this the fact that Herodotus did not understand elementary military tactics, the difficulties become apparent. Later writers must be used to supplement his account, yet we have no assurance that they preserve an independent tradition.

Fully aware of all this, the author repeatedly alludes to ancient skepticism, notably to Theopompus' famous attack on the Athenian inscriptions allegedly written at the time, but betrayed by their very form as of later origin. Far from hesitating to meet Theopompus' devastating criticism, Burn deals at length with two such documents—the recently discovered Themistocles decree and the so-called oath of Plataea—and even writes an epilogue enabling him to defend the authenticity of a third, the dubious Peace of Callias. In focusing attention on the possibility that patriotic forgeries may contain bits and pieces of genuine evidence the author *may* have succeeded in breaking the present log jam of articles defending or rejecting this material *in toto*. And that would be no mean achievement.

Historical analogies are freely introduced from medieval and modern times, including our own Civil War. Marathon suggests Bannockburn, and Persian taunts of Spartans before Plataea are cited as perhaps "the first case recorded of badinage between trousered and kilted men."

University of California, Los Angeles

TRUEDELL S. BROWN

THE EVOLUTION OF MEDIEVAL THOUGHT. By *David Knowles*. (Baltimore: Helicon Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 356. \$5.95.)

ONLY the most ardent positivist would deny that the development of human

thought is an integral part of history, but it is quite another thing when an eminent historian turns to writing a book that *ex professo* deals with the history of philosophy. In his short preface, Dom David Knowles modestly states that this book only aims at "showing some of the main currents of [medieval] thought and the channels through which they flowed." Yet he gives much more than that, and the reader who is not himself an accomplished expert in philosophy—that is, the reader to whom the book is addressed—will be grateful to the author for this outline which in lucid and urbane prose leads him into the world and problems of the medieval philosophers.

From the outset the author acknowledges his debt to the great masters whose work of discovery and interpretation during the past eighty years or so has broadened and deepened our knowledge of the field. But it would be rash to believe that the book is mainly an *œuvre de vulgarisation* digesting the treatises of the great authorities such as Grabmann, Geyer, Gilson, Van Steenberghen. The initiated alone will be in a position to appreciate fully what an immense amount of thoughtful and critical reading underlies Knowles's presentation, for the book is only most sparingly annotated—in long stretches, not annotated at all—and offers at the end merely the briefest "Suggestions for Further Reading." For the same reason, the nonspecialist can only guess that the author's judgments rest on an independent reading of the original sources in more than the "few places" to which he admits in the preface.

One of his main concerns is to show how medieval philosophy must be seen as a direct, though by no means simple, continuation of Greek thought in the Christian teaching of the Latin West. This emphasis could seem to be a truism, but we should not forget that Knowles is writing in the first place for an English audience whose philosophical education has until fairly recently been determined by an outdated syllabus, in which Scholasticism figured only as a self-contained and at best disquieting interlude between ancient and Cartesian philosophy. In dwelling on the channels that link the Schoolmen to the thought of antiquity, the book will be very illuminating also for many a student in this country who has been taught to look at the Middle Ages mainly as prelude to the Renaissance.

Knowles deals in five parts with "The Legacy of the Ancient World," "The Renaissance of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," "The New Universities—The Rediscovery of Aristotle," "The Achievement of the Thirteenth Century," "The Breakdown of the Medieval Synthesis." In each of these, chapters that outline the philosophical contribution and significance of individual thinkers alternate with chapters in which the organization of learning and the schools, the intellectual and religious concerns of the successive ages are discussed, thus blending at every stage the development of philosophic thought and method into the educational and mental framework of the time. It is in this perceptive insertion of the abstract into the concrete that Knowles shows himself as the master of historical writing that he is. He brings to his task a cultural and psychological insight, a feeling for the spiritual realities behind the fabric of speculative thought, and a power of

evocative formulation that gives his every statement a freshness and sincerity that are captivating even where on occasion one might disagree with individual assessments and conclusions.

Catholic University of America

STEPHAN KUTTNER

GESCHICHTE DER KULTUR DER ALTEN RUS': DIE VORMONGOLISCHE PERIODE. Edited by B. D. Grekow and M. L. Artamonow. Volume II, GESELLSCHAFTSORDNUNG UND GEISTIGE KULTUR. Edited by N. N. Woronin and M. K. Karger. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1962. Pp. viii, 492. DM 68.)

THIS symposium originally published in 1951 expresses the opinions of thirteen Soviet scholars on Russia and its culture before the Mongol invasion. Soviet historians not uninfluenced by Communist ideological changes have now to some extent altered their approach to these problems. Consequently the editor of the German translation, Dr. Widera, finds it necessary in his preface to justify this republication and the "patriotic accent" of the whole book, which he considers was evoked by "the Fascist attack on the Soviet Union and was a legitimate expression of protest against historical writings intended to deny the Russians any part in the creation of their own state and own country."

But the book is in fact more complex and in essence far more important than might be thought from the inadequate preface.

Essentially, in monographs on the origins of Russian culture, the study of cultural influences and, primarily, of course, of the Byzantine factor in the early development of Russia occupied a near hegemony of interest for a very long time. This study of "cultural influences" was and is facilitated by the fact that they began to make themselves felt in an epoch rich in written sources and in all kinds of reliably dated evidences of material culture. The best synthesis of the results given by such studies is P. N. Miliukov's classic *Outlines of the History of Russian Culture* (particularly the jubilee edition, Paris, 1930-37).

The authors of the symposium turn their attention to the "object" of these influences, to the eastern Slavs who were later to become the Russians of medieval Rus'. This is the point of departure for the highly qualified scholars whose studies, although some require further elaboration or even refutation, represent a serious contribution.

Among the more controversial hypotheses is V. V. Mavrodinov's contention that a feudal system was already operative in Russia in the eleventh century, whereas one need go no further than G. V. Vernadsky's monumental work *Kievan Russia* (1948) to find that Russia was still a long way from a Western type of feudalism. Again, N. G. Geyman's interpretation of the terms referring to the people called "Rus'" is in places devoid of historical content. P. Ya. Chernykh, a most erudite author, makes a stimulating attempt to prove the existence of a "system of writing" among the eastern Slavs before the appearance of Cyrillic,

but this remains no more than a hypothesis. In some cases (for instance in V. M. Belyayev's chapter on music), the conclusions are based on very slender evidence.

The majority of articles, however, give convincing, sometimes excellent outlines of their subjects: A. N. Robinson on Slavonic folklore; N. F. Lavrov on religion and the Church; D. S. Likhachev on literature; N. S. Tschayev on the spread of learning; N. N. Voronin and M. K. Karger on architecture; Karger again on painting; B. A. Rybakov on crafts and sculpture; L. A. Dinzes on pagan and Christian motifs in folk art; and the conclusions by Voronin and M. A. Tikhanova. According to these conclusions, the symposium seeks to illustrate the rapidity of the development of Russian culture between the tenth and thirteenth century and that "its originality is determined by its organic ties with the ancient culture of the tribes of the eastern Slavs." If this thesis is not altogether proven here, it deserves close attention and further examination, as indeed non-Soviet historians such as L. Niederle, E. V. Anichkov, Miliukov, Vernadsky, and others have long realized.

The editors' additions to the bibliography lack a reference to the "birch-bark documents" found in the early 1950's in Novgorod by archaeologists working under A. V. Artsikhovsky.

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NIKOLAY ANDREYEV

RECHERCHES SUR LES DOUANES À BYZANCE: L' "OCTAVA," LE "KOMMERKION" ET LES COMMERCIAIRES. By *Hélène Antoniadis-Bibicou*. [Cahiers des Annales, Number 20.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1963. Pp. 293. 24 fr.)

THIS is a monograph on a subject in Byzantine economic history: the collection of customs dues. The first two chapters are introductory and deal with sources, method, and periodization. Chapter III is devoted to the *octava*, a 12½ per cent combination of customs dues and sales license fee. Chapter IV covers the period from Anastasius I to Justinian I when, after considerable experimentation, a fairly uniform customs tariff of 10 per cent was introduced. This tariff, the *dekte*, later called *kommerkion*, investigated in Chapter V, was imposed upon imports and exports, as well as upon circulation of goods from one customs zone within the Empire to another, and was collected by public officials, the *kommerkarioi* (no tax farming prior to the twelfth century). Chapter VI discusses functions and status of these officials and is based on a valuable list of their extant seals compiled by the author. The seventh chapter on customs zones, in many ways the best part of the book, is essentially a verbal commentary on three maps. One of them shows the geographical distribution of seals century by century, another compares the administrative divisions of the Empire (provinces, later "themes") with the customs zones, and a third map correlates customs houses and trade routes. Here, as well as in the eighth chapter of conclusions, the author relates the results of her institutional inquiry to the realities of economic life (trade routes, increased economic

contacts with the West, Arabs, and Slavs in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and so forth).

The strength of the book lies partly in the care with which the author has collected and used the scattered source material. In particular the customs officials' seals are systematically used here for the first time as sources for Byzantine economic history. Even more important, the author asks the right questions, correlates institutional and economic history, and formulates a number of interesting hypotheses. She warns the reader candidly that in some cases the evidence for her hypotheses is weak. Indeed, her explanation of the *octava* as derived partly from the 10 per cent Roman sales tax on movable goods seems to founder on the fact the *octava*, as the author herself shows, was not a sales tax, but, partly, a license fee for the sale of goods. She further sees in Anastasius' edict at Abydos, which plays a large role in her argument, a customs tariff calculated on the monetary value of a ship's cargo. Yet is it really conceivable that a government setting up the text of an imperial decree on marble in order to protect shipowners against excessive exactions by customs collectors should neglect to state that the payments mentioned therein are not flat rates, but should be multiplied by the cash value of the cargo? Finally she infers from the fact that the seals of the seventh-century customs officials never mention more than one customs depot per city or region that the customs depot meant was the place where the collectors stored customs dues paid in kind. Her remarks about the problem of barter or cash economy in the seventh century are suggestive, but is there no simpler explanation for the singularity of the customs depot, that is, the government requiring all merchandise to be cleared in an official customs depot before it was stored in private warehouses? Most of her suggestions, however, are valuable. In particular her inquiry into the customs zones presents much information on the genesis and development of the "themes," now the subject of lively discussion. It would suggest that not only military and administrative factors but also economic considerations gave rise to this reorganization of the Empire.

University of Michigan

PAUL J. ALEXANDER

DORFGENOSSENSCHAFT UND DORFGEMEINDE. By *Karl Siegfried Bader*. [Studien zur Rechtsgeschichte des mittelalterlichen Dorfes, Number 2.] (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger. 1962. Pp. xii, 508. DM 32.50.)

ALTHOUGH feeling at the end of this book that one is as isolated as if he had descended to the ocean floor in a diving bell and that the *Dorfgenossenschaft* and *Dorfgemeinde* were associations and communities peculiar to the German-speaking areas of medieval Europe and known consequently only to German, Austrian, and Swiss historians, he realizes that this tremendously erudite book abounds in sensible observations and conclusions. In a previous volume (1957) dealing with the meaning of *Dorf*, *Hof*, and *Mark*, Bader concluded that *Dorf* was an inclusive term denoting a concentration of residences as well as the surrounding agrarian

complex and then described the legal privileges and immunities of the *Dorf*. In the present volume Bader, less juridically oriented, attempts to differentiate between *Dorfgenossenschaft* and *Dorfgemeinde*, to see what connection, if any, they had with the so-called *Markgenossenschaft*, and to study the internal organization of the *Dorfgemeinde* and its relation to the larger political community.

Arguing with commendable sense that there must be found a "Verbindung von historisch-philologischer mit juristischer Methode," that the method in dealing with social and economic phenomena should be inductive rather than deductive ("Im Anfang war das Wort, nicht der Begriff"), and that the influential writings of Gierke were too exclusively juridical, Bader assembles evidence to show the *Dorfgenossenschaft* as an association of village inhabitants formed to accomplish the economic, social, and communal needs of the village, while the *Dorfgemeinde* was the institutional and legal apparatus of the village.

The long section on the *Markgenossenschaft* is especially good. Bader constantly reiterates that the famous theory of Möser and Von Maurer was derived from pure fantasy, that the word *Mark* as early as the Frankish period designated only a boundary or defined area, that most of the evidence on the *Mark* comes from the late Middle Ages, and that in no respect can the *Mark* be regarded as the primitive cell of early Germanic free agrarian communities. In fact, as he so clearly points out, the village produced the *Mark* (boundary) rather than the reverse. During this discussion Bader provides an admirable summary of the evidence, beginning with the forty-fifth title (*De migrantibus*) of the Salic law, and of the vast literature from the eighteenth century to the present. The only criticism one might offer is to ask why a historical problem so long debated and well decided merits such detailed investigation. Möser, Von Maurer, Eichhorn, Gierke, and the many others who have devoted their talents to the *Mark* have said too much of importance to ignore them, but it is now time to use them for the solid information they have presented rather than as a backdrop for a study concerned largely with a problem long ago resolved. It must also be asked why Bader gives the impression that only a German literature exists on the subject. By ignoring what some of the French, Belgian, and American scholars have contributed to the problem of the *Mark* he has omitted viewpoints and arguments that would have strengthened his position.

The remaining chapters give a useful survey of the *Dorfgemeinde*, stressing its development, its functions, its institutions and officials, its relations with lords and princes, and its part in representation. Despite its narrowness, this book, logically arranged, clearly written, and displaying an awareness of all the pertinent German evidence and writing, provides the best comprehensive study to date on *Dorfgenossenschaft* and *Dorfgemeinde* and should satisfy those who would still learn how historians have fought over medieval agrarian institutions from the days of Möser to the present.

University of California, Berkeley

BRYCE LYON

THE WILL IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND: FROM THE CONVERSION OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS TO THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By *Michael M. Sheehan*. [Studies and Texts, Number 6.] (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 1963. Pp. xii, 359. \$7.00.)

For the lawyer, Sheehan's treatise will long remain a classic. It is a masterful history of the written will and collateral instruments for the disposition of property after death. For the historian, this is social history at its best. Instead of artfully imposing a self-consciously contrived, conceptual apparatus upon the past, Sheehan has been content to use a natural framework, one that the members of medieval society themselves designed. He has found it, admittedly incomplete yet veridical, in their laws and legal structure and in Christian penitential practices. The invention of legal means by which men, women, and even children procured the fulfillment, after death, of their wishes is the central theme. He describes the distribution of property at death as a social process, not just a legal one; he appraises men's motives and not just the deceased's effects; and he gets down to cases, to individuals living and giving, and thereby turns a melancholy matter into a vital, almost joyous, story told in polished prose. An understanding of human nature and medieval men, their feelings, minds, and aspirations, and a command of the three laws, canon, civil, and common, enabled Sheehan to convert a monographic topic into broad history.

Moreover, this history of law and death in medieval England contains unsettling implications. Sheehan's conclusion that the Norman Conquest, and the Normans too, did little to alter Anglo-Saxon testamentary law and practice confirms Stenton's doctrine of a social and legal continuity across the supposed barrier of 1066; his disclosure that the creative half century, about 1170-1220, was when the great changes occurred, under the impact of canon law and Roman concepts, coincides with Richardson's and Sayles's similar contention concerning the common law. But Sheehan shows, uncontentiously, that a broad sector of society, and of real life too, was nonfeudal; that in life-and-death matters, like wills, regal and ecclesiastical authority, and not feudal law, were what prevailed. The bishop bequeathed by will "the prelate's patrimony"; the priest bequeathed his personal property; and the woman and the villein disposed of chattels. Much in "feudal England" is now found to be nonfeudal, and even its feudal members did many things in their nonfeudal capacities. The significance of "feudalism" is, properly, being minimized, yet the fief was all-important in England's real property law. A brilliant analysis of "The Distribution of Land by Will" concludes that "the basic and permanent cause of the prohibition of the bequest of land is to be found in the rules of conveyance," a technical matter of common-law procedure, and in neither "ecclesiastical greed" nor "the Norman invasion."

So complete and thorough an account, to 1300, of testamentary law and its application inevitably produced facts and conclusions that dictate corrections and revisions of earlier historians. Sheehan makes them, and, with a modesty not too

common among revisionists, he neither flaunts his findings nor pillories his predecessors. Justly, he may take pride in the quality of his book, but he may take a greater pride in having written it with the humility that so becomes both his callings, the priest and the historian.

Yale University

WILLIAM HUSE DUNHAM, JR.

THE GOVERNANCE OF MEDIAEVAL ENGLAND FROM THE CONQUEST TO MAGNA CARTA. By *H. G. Richardson* and *G. O. Sayles*. [Edinburgh University Publications. History, Philosophy and Economics, Number 16.] (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company. 1963. Pp. ix, 514. \$15.00.)

THE authors of this volume need no introduction; their work has significantly enriched the legal and constitutional history of medieval England for many years. The present volume is apparently intended to be the first of a series in which they propose to clear away the misconceptions left as a legacy by Stubbs and give a new start toward a true understanding of the governance of medieval England. Volume I already undertakes a drastic revision. It finally disposes of the idea that the Norman Conquest made an important change in the government of England or that the Norman "drill sergeants" had any significant contribution to make. The Anglo-Norman system is fully established as a gradual creation; it was emphatically not a product of "feudalism," a term for which Richardson and Sayles have very little use. They argue, indeed, that mercenaries were far more important under the Norman kings than either the feudal forces or the levy that goes under the name of the fyrd. At this point, a comparison may be noted with the contemporary but independent work of Professor C. W. Hollister (*Anglo-Norman Military Institutions on the Eve of the Norman Conquest* [1962]). There is agreement as to the importance of the five-hide basis for Anglo-Saxon military service, but disagreement as to the fyrd, and on the latter point Hollister seems to have the stronger case.

The real turning point in the institutional history of the period, it is argued, came with the rise of the office of justiciar and the court of the Exchequer under Henry I. By comparison with this development, even the well-known innovations of Henry II prove to be of restricted importance; indeed, most of them should probably be traced back to an earlier time. Henry II had no great design for the expansion of government; even his famous quarrel with Thomas Becket was essentially in defense of the customs of England. The clash between King and archbishop is judged from the viewpoint of Westminster rather than of Canterbury, and the authors come very close to an endorsement of Gilbert Foliot's words, admittedly spoken in anger, that characterized Becket as a fatuous fool.

Compared with the effects of legal and institutional change, politics are regarded as of minor importance. The government of England was little affected by the dynastic war of Stephen's reign or by the prolonged absence of Richard I.

No serious attempt is made to undertake a critical evaluation of the part played by the barons in either period, or of the effects of their experiences on their sense of responsibility for the good of the realm. Similarly, the political struggle between King John and Innocent III left little mark on the constitution, for the King had much more right on his side than has been supposed, and the interdict had little effect. Stephen Langton was as narrow and almost as misguided as Becket, and the notion that he aided the course of reform by the "discovery" of Henry I's Charter of Liberties is but another historical myth. On the other hand, the authors carry out a cogent reassessment of Magna Carta and the barons who obtained it and severely chastise Professors Adams and Painter for regarding the latter as a pack of feudal reactionaries; nor, on this point, do they believe that we are much wiser from the recent work of Professor J. C. Holt.

Many other revisions of accepted views could be cited, including important comments on matters as far apart as the Assizes of Clarendon and the existence of educated laymen in the twelfth century, the latter of no small importance in connection with the obscure beginnings of ideas and customs that would one day lead to the evolution of the medieval parliament. It is hard to recall a volume that betrays such a fine and sensitive instinct for the demolition of views not securely based on a rigorous scrutiny of the available evidence. On the other hand, the constructive effort is less evident and less successful. The authors destroy late Victorian illusions deeply embedded in the work of Bishop Stubbs; they demolish false romanticism and anachronistic idealism; but surely their claim to describe, instead, the realities of life as it would have appeared to a detached observer is extravagant! What makes any individuals, in these days of psychology and sociology, imagine that they can detach themselves from their own age or become detached observers of any other? They seek, in place of Stubbs's errors, "teaching founded upon a scrupulous examination of the sources and, to our utmost endeavour, free from bias and preconception"; but such a protestation seems to be an act of supererogation, or, if it is really meant to designate a distinctive quality of this work, has a ring, in this day of soul searching by historians, almost as Victorian as the alleged illusions of Stubbs.

It is claimed that the facts of life and law in the Middle Ages have come to be regarded, since Stubbs's day, with eyes that have been opened to a new vision, but what kind of vision has been achieved? Are we really so much nearer the truth when we relegate the line *Est insigne mori quam libertate carere* to a footnote and spare only incidental remarks for the great governmental problem of counsel and consent? Perhaps if they had taken this more seriously, the authors would have avoided two different renderings of "Glanville" on pages 143-44 and 373 and would not have talked in one of these of "his council, the great men of the realm."

Similarly, it may be doubted if historians whose eyes were less firmly fixed on the office of justiciar and on institutional history would have claimed that the conquest of Normandy by Henry I in 1106 had consequences "*in every respect*

[italics mine] more momentous and lasting" than the conquest of England by William in 1066. As it appears in these pages the importance of 1106 is bound up with the rise of the impersonal monarchy (especially in the court of the Exchequer), a development that actually went on apace from the tenth to the fourteenth century and that only extreme enthusiasm for certain aspects of government could tie precisely to the absence in Normandy of King Henry I.

In arriving at such a generalization, Richardson and Sayles turn their backs not only on Stubbs but on most modern experts in the field. They have, indeed, a very unflattering opinion of their fellow practitioners, in whom it is suggested the light of contemporary witnesses sometimes but dimly shines. They will not cite the views of those whose conclusions agree with their own; the support of such views, they confess, may comfort them, but it does not add to the weight of the evidence. It does not, indeed, but it should nevertheless be recognized. There is something odd about a book whose authors do not indicate where their conclusions have already been anticipated, and it is an inadequate compensation for Richardson and Sayles to assure those whose labors have gone unrecognized that they mean no disparagement and do not wish to offend.

Despite all this, the two authors have produced a memorable volume. It is not well constructed, and it abounds in questionable and as yet unsupported views about later subjects, especially the development of parliament and the Declaration of 1308. It would have been a better book if it had shown a little more appreciation of the strength, as well as the weakness, of other work in the field. Nevertheless, it remains an outstanding contribution to the history of Anglo-Norman England and will be the focus of discussion and debate for many years. Many historians will be angered occasionally, as well as stimulated often, by the provocative methods of its authors, but few will deny that they have achieved some brilliant results. All will await with lively anticipation and appreciation the future installments of this argumentative, scholarly, individualistic, and penetrating work.

University of Toronto

B. WILKINSON

MEDIEVAL LONDON: FROM COMMUNE TO CAPITAL. By *Gwyn A. Williams*. [University of London Historical Studies, Number 11.] (London: University of London, the Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1963. Pp. xiv, 377. \$8.00.)

For almost eight hundred years historians have written about the corporate life of London, its merchants, its craftsmen, and its place as the capital of England. These historians, moreover, have not failed to observe the intense patriotism of the Londoner, his pride in the grandeur of the city, his respect for its officials, his zeal in the protection of its liberties. Some of the earliest comments are also the most extravagant; indeed, in his praise of London, William fitz Stephen, the twelfth-century chronicler, is scarcely to be matched. "Among the noble cities

of the world," he wrote, "that are celebrated by Fame, the city of London, seat of the monarchy of England, is one that spreads its fame wider, sends its wealth and wares further, and lifts its head higher than all others." If London's history has already received so much favorable attention, what yet remains to be written about it?

Ranging widely through the extensive municipal archives, Gwyn Williams has studied the social and political life of the city from Magna Carta to the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War. Underlying and guiding the entire account is an important assumption, namely, that the self-assertiveness of citizens at the top of the social structure would lead them to seek political office as aldermen of the city wards. To marshal the details of social analysis is the author's concern fully as much as political history. And it is precisely in the sustained presentation of detail about the aldermanic class that Williams contributes to the history of a great capital city.

Searching for the factors creating aldermanic power and influence, the author has compiled charts of family relationships, has listed for many individuals their landed property, their commercial interests, and their guild associations. He has discovered the origins of many aldermanic families and has been able to trace the immigration of "new men" from various parts of England. Drapers, mercers, vintners, and goldsmiths predominated in the early thirteenth century. Pepperers, woolmongers, fishmongers, and skimmers made their way into office later in the century. For some reason, weavers were not active in medieval public life.

The commune of London was more than a century in developing a harmonious relation with the crown, and London never achieved the autonomy of medieval Venice, Florence, or Milan. English kings unwillingly granted immunity from harrowing investigations by royal judges and burdensome tallages. Citizens of London, consequently, were seldom ardent royalists. But the London merchants had to move carefully. The royal household, nearby at Westminster, purchased heavily in London. There were, moreover, profitable offices to be obtained from the king; a merchant might become a royal chamberlain, butler, sergeant, commissioner, customs collector, town planner, or controller of purveyance. The king, if he were prudent, also moved carefully in dealing with the Londoners, for, when they swung from docility to angry defiance, they could unmake a king, as Edward II discovered.

Williams introduces the reader to scores of individuals: he names them and deftly manages to give short biographies while moving the narrative forward. Thus the reader becomes familiar with Adam de Basing, the alderman, sheriff, mayor, draper, who supplied the thirteenth-century court with cloth of gold, miters, copes, vestments, banners, and loans. All this is done without bypassing several controversial subjects such as London's medieval population figures and the beginning of London's corporate existence. But the purpose of this book, from which there are only occasional digressions, is to present the evidence for a relationship between mercantile interest, social position, and political power in the

period between 1215 and 1338. The result is a lively and polished account that should be valuable to anyone interested in medieval English history.

Indiana University

ARTHUR R. HOGUE

MONEY, PRICES, AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE. By *Harry A. Miskimin*. [Yale Studies in Economics, Number 15.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1963. Pp. 215. \$6.75.)

THIS study represents the cooperation of the disciplines of medieval history and modern economics to a degree, I believe, hitherto untried. Dr. Miskimin has attempted to apply the economic model $MV=PT$ to the available statistical data of fourteenth-century France. Since his French figures are admittedly incomplete, he compares them with similar figures from England compiled by Rogers on prices and Craig on minting. In one sense, his work is an interpretation of both England and France. He limits his attention to the factor of grain prices, which he assumes were free, an assumption that accords with the view that the medieval doctrine of the just price was the free market price. Furthermore, he rightly assumes that cultural and climatic conditions in northern France and southern England were close enough to make the two areas commensurate, thereby eliminating the factors of velocity (based on culture) and total output (based on climate). His model, then, is reduced to the relationship of money and prices in France and England.

Two major comparisons are attempted. First he plots the maximum prices of French grain against those of England, and when he has compensated for the devaluation of French currency, he finds the two series strikingly similar. This would validly demonstrate that French purchasers were quickly aware of the royal policy of monetary depreciation. Secondly, he traces the output of minting, where he discovers a significant pattern of alternation among the mints of England, France, and Flanders. When he can discover no correlation between prices and minting, he argues less convincingly for the factor of foreign trade as an explanation. While foreign trade may account for the pattern of alternation, it does not necessarily explain the absence of correlation between money and prices. Since the percentage of currently minted money to the total money supply is admittedly not known, it seems difficult to estimate the relevance of minting to prices. It is likely that both historians and economists will question some of his procedures. For example, the author knows better than most of us the deficiencies of his statistics. While the data collected by Rogers may have weaknesses, they are richer than his own price list compiled for France. Although the use of maximum prices solves a number of problems, it also amplifies the effect of scribal error on the results. Nonetheless, against seemingly insuperable difficulties, Miskimin has devised a number of ingenious techniques for producing a pioneer study. His endeavors should be encouraged.

Johns Hopkins University

JOHN W. BALDWIN

Modern Europe

OTECHESTVENNAIA VOINA 1812 GODA [The Patriotic War of 1812]. By *L. G. Beskrovnyi*. (Moscow: State Press for Socio-Economic Literature. 1962. Pp. 610.)

RUSSKO-ANGLIISKIE OTNOSHENIIA I PROBLEMY SREDIZEMNOMOR'IA (1798-1807) [Russo-British Relations and the Problems of the Mediterranean (1798-1807)]. By *A. M. Stanislavskaiia*. (Moscow: USSR Academy of Sciences Press. 1962. Pp. 501.)

THE works of Academician Beskrovnyi should be far better known in the West than they are, for Beskrovnyi is the leading military historian of the Russian old regime active in the Soviet Union today. This book is the fourth major volume he has written in the past dozen years, not to speak of several volumes of edited documents and articles. It expands an earlier essay on the Kutuzov counterattack. Roughly the first half is devoted to background: a full survey of the historiography of 1812 (both Russian and foreign), the diplomatic prelude to the invasion, and a description and an estimation of the Russian military forces and La Grande Armée. This is the best half. The historiographical account is long and tendentious, but fair and generally scholarly. Not even Lenin wrote ex cathedra on 1812. The most valuable and original part of the book is the description of both Russian and French forces. The Russian army and fleet are convincingly presented as comparatively modern, rationalized, and better armed than is commonly thought, although weak in trained reserves and in regulars tested in battle. The material and technical resources were by and large adequate. The second half of the book is a quite traditional account of the campaign, battle by battle. The research here is very good, although with greater dependence on familiar published sources than one would hope. In over-all approach, Beskrovnyi strikes something of a balance between the cold (and superficial) economic analysis of Pokrovskii and the chauvinistic populism of Tarle. The moral fervor ("will to victory") of the Russian army was important in the outcome of this all-Russian struggle for national liberation, but the personalities of the leaders and the regiments were as crucial as the popular upsurge of the people. Indeed any individual regiment or even person might be a factor in any given "subjective moment," although "objective conditions" were something else again.

All in all Beskrovnyi has written a study worthy of the 150th anniversary of the first "Fatherland War." This is not military history with broad social, psychological, and economic insights, but it is competent, organized simply and effectively, and written unadornedly, even routinely at times. The battle maps are excellent; the illustrations might as well have been forgotten; and we are reminded again that the Russians must not have invented the book index.

Avgusta M. Stanislavskaiia gives us fairly conventional diplomatic history, but draws attention to a neglected chapter in Russian-Napoleonic rivalry. The research

is very good, although, as expected, limited to Russian, English, and French materials. The foreign policies of Naples, Turkey, Malta, and the Balkan nations are not excluded, and important commercial and economic matters are related to politics. The author concludes that Russia's chief antagonist in the eastern Mediterranean was of course Napoleon, but that with English assistance Russian armed might stopped French imperial pretensions by 1800. But then by 1803 Russia and England began to fall out over the Greek question, in spite of the attempts by Alexander in 1804-1805 and 1806 to heal the breach. By 1806 the real truce with Turkey had disintegrated, and all were ready for Tilsit. The book is recommended to those entranced by big power diplomacy and to Napoleonic buffs who really should begin using Soviet scholarship other than E. V. Tarle.

University of North Carolina

C. M. Foust

- A SHORT HISTORY OF SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND. By G. W. O. Woodward. [Mentor Book.] (New York: New American Library. 1963. Pp. 256. 75 cents.)
- A SHORT HISTORY OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND. By G. E. Aylmer. [Mentor Book.] (New York: New American Library. 1963. Pp. 256. 75 cents.)
- A SHORT HISTORY OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND. By R. W. Harris. [Mentor Book.] (New York: New American Library. 1963. Pp. 238. 75 cents.)
- A SHORT HISTORY OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND. By John W. Derry. [Mentor Book.] (New York: New American Library. 1963. Pp. 239. 75 cents.)
- A SHORT HISTORY OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY ENGLAND. By T. L. Jarman. [Mentor Book.] (New York: New American Library. 1963. Pp. 224. 75 cents.)

ALL forms of writing have their problems; they may also offer advantages. This series of small volumes published in the United States as "Mentor Books" constitutes the latest in the now considerable number of multivolume, cooperative histories of Great Britain. It joins the "Pelican History of England" and G. M. Trevelyan's *History of England* in providing the economy inherent in paperback form for a comprehensive survey of the subject. Many contributions of the scholarship of the past decade are reflected. If, unfortunately, there is, at least as yet, no treatment of the period prior to 1485, where much important work has been done recently, the final volume provides what both the "Pelican History" and Trevelyan lack, a serious and not unsuccessful effort to carry the story from 1900 to the present.

In several respects these volumes manage to reconcile certain not wholly compatible objectives. They are both independent books and a joint survey of modern British history. Though their simultaneous publication facilitated the

transitions from volume to volume, there is some repetition—for example, the accounts of central and local political institutions in Tudor and early Stuart times—even if the planning of the series eliminated such duplications more successfully than other cooperative histories. Conceived surely to serve the uses of a textbook, these studies are designed also to appeal to more sophisticated readers. On the whole they succeed in avoiding an uninspired catalogue of well-known facts without, like Trevelyan's magnificent extended essay, requiring of the reader a knowledge and imagination that American undergraduates too frequently lack. Yet it may be asked why there is not full uniformity with regard to biographical sketches, chronological charts, and bibliographical suggestions. The biographical notes about leading Tudor figures (Appendix A of the first volume) might well have been continued for later periods. And if a table of major events is helpful for the seventeenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, why not also for the sixteenth and eighteenth? The introduction to the Stuart volume contains an excellent paragraph on the differences between narrative and analysis with particular reference to the historiography of its crucial moment in England's development. "Perhaps the very fact of the many conflicting viewpoints, the many unsolved and disputed historical problems has made it more difficult for historians to produce good introductory works." Yet if "for further reading and certainly for specialist work in a senior form or for a college course, it is better to go straight to books on particular epochs or topics or to biographies of individual statesmen and other important figures," that situation would suggest that a bibliographical section, which in fact is omitted from the volume, is particularly important.

There are also some less mechanical criticisms that may be offered. If the role of the Reformation Parliament may have been exaggerated in the past, is it really sound to declare that "the Parliament of 1529 was not exceptional in the scope of its measures or precedent-making in the nature of its acts . . ."? Students on this side of the Atlantic may feel that the American Revolution is given rather cursory treatment. Nor does the volume very clearly reflect the work of Namier; the one-page bibliography does not include *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*. Perhaps it is more widely known in America than in England that the *Lusitania* was torpedoed, not in February, but in May 1915. Even if it be particularly difficult to write the history of the recent past, it is unfortunate that, for the period when other works are not available, the final volume should have more than its share of pedestrian passages. Yet there is much in these volumes that is excellent; they should be very useful for students in American undergraduate courses in British history.

Pomona College

JOHN H. GLEASON

THE ASSOCIATION: BRITISH EXTRAPARLIAMENTARY POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, 1769-1793. By *Eugene Charlton Black*. [Harvard His-

torical Monographs, Number 54.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. 344. \$6.75.)

WITHIN the past year, four books have been published or announced on the agitation for political reform in Great Britain about 1763–1793: George Rudé's *Wilkes and Liberty*, Ian Christie's *Wilkes, Wyvill and Reform*, John Norris' *Shelburne and Reform*, and now Dr. Black's work on the general development of special political organizations outside Parliament. His is by far the most comprehensive, though the chronological sweep of its title is somewhat misleading. He really starts in 1779, not in 1769. His work embraces the topics of the other three and much else besides, particularly the reactionary societies. Yet the reader who looks here for a convenient summary of the whole will probably be forced back in disappointment on the more limited accounts, for Black does not summarize well. I doubt, for example, that anyone not already familiar with the subject could get much out of Chapter vi—the impact of the French Revolution on English reform in twenty pages.

Black has done an impressive amount of research, and he is at his best when allowed the space to develop his materials: in the chapters on Lord George Gordon's Protestant Association, on John Reeves's Association for the Preservation of Liberty and Property, and perhaps on the Society for Constitutional Information. Most will find these chapters new and useful, the others less so. Though his ostensible subject is the growth of extraparlimentary organization, there is little real institutional structural analysis here; nor is he very adept in the social analysis of groups à la Rudé, or of individuals, à la Namier. Too many unidentified names are dropped. Black has a weakness, too, for the grander, if not always relevant, generalizations sweeping over centuries.

Like others who have written on this subject, he has a marked sympathy for the "practical" reformer Wyvill in contrast to the "doctrinaire" Cartwright and the London "radicals." But how practical was Wyvill, either in the short run (when he undid his organization in supporting Pitt) or in the long? What would a Wyvillite reform—transferring some seats from the boroughmongering section of the landed gentry to that class at large—have done to increase the efficiency, the equity, or the democracy of the British government?

University of Michigan

JACOB M. PRICE

THE ENGLISH PRESS IN POLITICS, 1760–1774. By *Robert R. Rea*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1963. Pp. ix, 272. \$5.50.)

THIS period of the history of the press is important for, although freedom to publish without a license had already been won, the bounds of the liberty of the press had not been defined, let alone pressed to their limits under a constitutional government. Public opinion ran high over the issues of the day, and without certain advances advocated and fought for by Earl Temple, John Almon, and John

Glynn there could have been, as Burke and Walpole feared, bloodshed and revolution.

Certain prerogatives of the Lords and the Commons were called into question by the people and spearheaded by the journalists, the publishers, and the printers. The use of general warrants, the nature of libel, the right of juries to decide questions of law as well as of fact, and the extent of parliamentary privilege all came under purview. The high court of Parliament itself was brought to the bar of public opinion before the struggle was over.

The impetuous John Wilkes and the brilliant Junius loom large in these pages. Wilkes spans the whole period, while the meteoric Junius appears only from 1769 to 1771. The publication of *North Briton*, Number 45, raised significant constitutional questions—the measure of the Secretary of State's power to make arrests, the validity of a general warrant, and the legality of a warrant to seize the papers of the author, publisher, or printer of a seditious libel—which were ultimately resolved in favor of the press. In addition Wilkes's claim of privilege as a member of the House of Commons caused much soul searching in both houses.

The aspects of parliamentary privilege that concerned the press were the right of members to freedom from criticism outside Parliament and the right of both houses to regulate the flow of information disclosed in debate. In the early years of George III's reign these forms of privilege were regarded as devices to thwart the aspirations of the people. The printer and the publisher were the self-appointed guardians of the masses who would not be denied the privilege of political knowledge. Again a victory was won, for after 1771 no consistent effort was made to limit the political press by appealing to parliamentary privilege. Though from time to time the galleries might be closed, what went on did reach the press and the people. The publication of debates was tacitly accepted by Parliament.

This is not an easy book to read for it understandably treats a host of political journalists and their writings and a multitude of leaders of shifting political factions. To assist the reader the author added a chronology of events and seventy biographical sketches. Included are a useful bibliography and a number of pertinent contemporary political cartoons.

Huntington Library

JOHN E. POMFRET

CHURCHES AND THE WORKING CLASSES IN VICTORIAN ENGLAND. By K. S. Inglis. [Studies in Social History.] (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1963. Pp. v, 350. \$7.00.)

THE thesis of this volume emerges clearly enough, and it is one about which, in the large, there should be little dispute. Professor Inglis is concerned with the various attempts of the English religious communities to bridge the gap between themselves and the urban working classes. Many of these efforts, he urges, rested

on a false premise: that somehow during the century the churches had lost their hold on the working masses of the cities. The facts were otherwise. Among urban residents at least, churchgoing throughout the century was a function of social class. Members of the upper and middle classes, pious or not, normally attended church, while urban workingmen continued, in the large, to view the claims of religion with indifference. It was not, the future bishop of London remarked in 1896, that the Church had "lost the great towns; it has never had them."

If churchgoing was, broadly speaking, a class habit, the problem of the Victorian reformers was even less readily soluble than they realized. The church building projects, the visiting societies, the attacks on the pew system, the campaigns of evangelism all made some difference—but in the long run remarkably little—in changing class attitudes. Each communion tended to see peculiarities in its own organization as handicaps and those of other groups as advantages. Even the Catholic Church had its troubles, though these were more manageable. Here the difficulty was leakage, chiefly the result of the slow increase in the numbers of clergy and denominational schools as compared with rise in the Catholic population. The Catholics, however, could count on a reserve of loyalty to their Church carried over from the Irish background of their constituency, a loyalty generally lacking among the non-Catholic working classes.

As the more conventional evangelistic techniques proved unavailing, thoughtful English Christians explored other approaches to the working classes. What was needed, perhaps, was a greater demonstration of concern on the part of the upper classes—and the 1880's and 1890's saw numbers of university men take up residence in the new settlement houses in the slums. Conceivably a rethinking of the attitude of the churches was indicated toward questions of poverty and wealth, employment, housing, old age, and the other issues of industrial society. Within the Church of England the Guild of St. Matthew and, to better effect, the Christian Social Union churned up much interest in social questions. Even the Salvation Army, though resting solidly on the classic evangelical doctrines, presently discovered that saving lost souls was not enough. It was the failure of the Salvation Army to expand its beachhead more dramatically among slum dwellers that turned William Booth toward social reform and his *Darkest England* scheme. At the other theological extreme, John Trevor left his Unitarian pulpit in Manchester to found the Labour Church movement, which enjoyed a decade or so of modest success in the industrial North and Midlands.

Churchmen will find Inglis' book a disheartening, if illuminating, chronicle. True, the indifference of the working classes ordinarily did not lead to a positive rejection of religion; active infidelity was rare, far rarer than among similar groups on the Continent. It is also true that the pattern of religious loyalties was exceedingly complex, more so than can be explored in such a book as this, given the infinite regional variations and the substantial differences from segment to segment of the working class. But in essentials the picture will stand. Charles Booth, one of the more perceptive of the late Victorians, was entitled to doubt whether in

the future religion could compete seriously as a working-class interest with either politics or pleasure.

Harvard University

DAVID OWEN

GUIZOT: ASPECTS OF FRENCH HISTORY, 1787-1874. By *Douglas Johnson*. [Studies in Political History.] (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1963. Pp. ix, 469. \$10.00.)

MORE than any other major political figure in nineteenth-century France, François-Pierre-Guillaume Guizot has been swallowed up by his stereotype. Even among historians he is remembered as the austere and self-righteous Calvinist who presided over a corrupt regime of vested interests. Most historians are only vaguely aware that the French statesman was once a distinguished but now little-read practitioner of their craft; some may recall that he lent his name to a basic French law on primary education. Yet neither Guizot's vanished fame as a historian nor his concern with education has done much to broaden his image.

Until the publication of Douglas Johnson's *Guizot* in the new British series, "Studies in Political History," no serious full-length study of the French statesman has been available, although excellent works on limited aspects of Guizot's career were familiar to specialists. Though Johnson contends that he is merely seeking "to study Guizot and the items of the history of France which surround his career," the disclaimer is overly modest and somewhat misleading. Here is a book of some 450 pages whose only major protagonist is Guizot and which treats comprehensively all the major concerns of his multifarious public career. The author deals topically with Guizot's political theories, his attitudes toward mass education, his role as *de facto* Prime Minister throughout the 1840's, the rationale of his foreign policy, his place as a historian, and, finally, his last years as the oracle of French Protestantism.

In many respects this book is a model of historical scholarship. Drawing upon Guizot's papers at the Val-Richer, as well as upon scores of other private and public depositories, the study is exhaustively yet intelligently documented. Equally impressive is the author's mastery of the background of nineteenth-century controversies in which Guizot was involved. Each of the topical chapters—I am tempted to call them articles—is cogently organized, successfully blending analysis with narrative: a problem is defined in its social and political context, Guizot's outlook analyzed, his attitude or role traced, and, finally, his contribution assessed critically. The style is clear and often incisive, the judgments sensible. Johnson has obviously steeped himself in the mental climate of the *juste milieu*, without, however, surrendering the perspective of his own century altogether. Within the framework chosen by the author his study has been impeccably completed.

I can only mention a few of the many suggestive reinterpretations of nineteenth-century French history that Johnson offers. He argues persuasively, for instance, that throughout the July Monarchy the locus of authority was govern-

mental—royal rather than parliamentary. In the realm of foreign policy, he demonstrates that the fiasco of the Spanish marriages, which wrecked the Anglo-French *entente cordiale*, was the product of misguided improvisation rather than Machiavellian machination. Other interpretations, such as the emphasis on the doctrinaire-bourgeois split within the political elite, or, more broadly, the contention that the politics of the Orleans monarchy must be understood in terms of an underlying sense of crisis, seem less convincing.

In the light of Johnson's impressive contribution to nineteenth-century French history, I may be ungracious in taking issue with the fundamental organization of his material. His topically organized biography, though it gains in neatness and architectural simplicity, cannot escape its biographical heritage: its view of the historical process is necessarily narrowed by being seen through the eyes and mind of one protagonist. At the same time, the author disdains the real advantage of biography, both by excising Guizot as a human personality and by splitting him into a number of self-contained compartments. Two disturbing corollaries follow: first, since his hero remains disembodied throughout, the book, despite the author's concluding over-all evaluation, will be read as a collection of separate essays of varying interest to any one reader; second, the reader loses a sense of reality when simultaneous and closely interwoven activities, such as political thought, parliamentary maneuvering, and foreign policy, are introduced quite separately. Such a presentation, in my view, is likely to overstate the orderly and rational aspects of Guizot's career.

In a very real sense, however, such carping is a tribute to the author. In his *Guizot*, Johnson has written a book so flawless within its self-imposed limitations that I, for one, can only regret the limitations.

Oakland University

PETER AMANN

LA BOURGEOISIE PARISIENNE DE 1815 À 1848. By *Adeline Daumard*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Démographie et sociétés, Volume VIII.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1963. Pp. xxxvii, 661.)

ADELINE Daumard's *La Bourgeoisie parisienne de 1815 à 1848* is the first major French contribution to the massive study of the bourgeoisie in the West that Ernest Labrousse proposed at the International Congress of Historical Sciences in 1955. She treats her subject in three principal parts, each forming about a third of the book: "Description des structures bourgeoises," "La formation de la bourgeoisie parisienne," and "Participation à la vie collective." Although she has not achieved a final definition of the bourgeoisie, she has isolated the bourgeoisie in Parisian society and exposed its typical activities and convictions more precisely than anyone before her. All historians are in her debt for light cast on a vexingly shadowy area.

At the outset Daumard eschews definition of the bourgeoisie, but implicitly

she includes in it all the Parisian population between the workers without capital living near the edge of subsistence and the nobility. Within this large and heterogeneous category (185,000 in 1846) she finds five different bourgeoisies, which she designates by the adjectives "populaire," "moyenne," "bonne," and "haute" and by the term "financial aristocracy." These groups she does define, basing her definitions on quantitative measurements of fortunes, styles of life, public influence, and private responsibilities as revealed in the myriad data of notarial archives, the *Archives de l'enregistrement*, fiscal records, bankruptcy papers, electoral lists, records of auctions, government personnel files, and a few family archives.

Her basically economic definitions permit a wide divergence among the component groups in the class. The "popular bourgeoisie," for example, was economically closer to the working class than to the "financial aristocracy" or to the "haute bourgeoisie," and the "financial aristocracy" more akin to the aristocracy of birth than to the lower levels of the bourgeoisie. In the final third of the book she attempts to characterize the Parisian bourgeoisie by its role in society and by its values, and here she finds the cohesive forces that give unity to this large class despite economic differences. All, from top to bottom, shared the desire to possess a solid fortune, not as an end in itself but as a means to achieving personal and family independence and the prestige of political influence; the idea that men could shape their own destinies by work and struggle, tempered by protection of established positions; belief in the rule of law, essential to a stable society; and the conception of political society limited to men of property or education. During the July Monarchy the bourgeoisie in Paris was increasingly divided by differences in wealth and by political conflicts, but the solidarity based on role and values never cracked. The role and convictions of a class are a vast subject, little susceptible to quantitative study, and the author admittedly has touched only parts of it, used but a fraction of the possible documentation, and produced on most aspects of the subject only sketches. She has, nonetheless, here made a pioneering and suggestive exploration of a dimension of the bourgeoisie on which there has been much loose writing but, until now, little serious research.

University of Missouri

DAVID H. PINKNEY

NAPOLÉON III. IN SEINER ZEIT: DER AUFSTIEG. By *Heinrich Euler*. Würzburg: A. G. Ploetz Verlag. 1961. Pp. ix, 1062. DM 44.80.)

In this large volume of 880 pages of text and 164 pages of notes the author covers the biography of Louis Napoleon through the marriage with Eugénie. He has supplemented the thorough use of published accounts by research in public archives and in private collections, and the notes offer an indispensable guide to all students of the subject. As he intends to complete the biography, the work will be one of monumental proportions.

The question of whether the early phase of Louis Napoleon's life deserves ex-

tensive treatment found convincing answer half a century ago in Simpson's preface to his own first volume, and Euler planned his work with the same thought in mind. Encouraged by his mother and by the fact of family, Louis Napoleon developed and implemented the ideals of Bonapartism, an act of creativity comparable to that of a work of art. A biographer must portray this process of creation, and as Louis Napoleon constantly walked the thin edge between foolishness and failure, astuteness and success, in order to do him justice his biographer should possess subtlety of insight and a novelist's gift of portrayal.

Neither Simpson nor Euler has the requisite qualifications, but the latter comes nearer to making Louis Napoleon real and understandable than does the earlier biographer. For this period of trial and error, of constant interaction among the facets of existence, Euler saw that he must enter fully into every aspect of the life of his subject and that he might best organize the discussion in line with the somewhat haphazard chronological procedure of life itself. Fortunately the sources supply such a mass of material that this traditional organization could cover the many topics that a modern reader expects. Euler makes Louis Napoleon appear to have been a far abler person than any other biographer known to me has done. He leads the reader to admire a man who gained his goal in the face of practically all conceivable odds. Euler offers no formula for this success; like Louis Napoleon he recognizes that there is none. Yet the reader understands how it was possible, just as he anticipates future difficulties and even disaster.

Although this is the ablest study that we have for the years covered, the author was not quite competent to handle so complex an assignment. The book is an expanded version of a manuscript that Euler submitted as a *Habilitationsschrift* at the University of Würzburg. The most experienced biographer has difficulty in writing about childhood, and Euler's effort does not rise above the average. Nor has the author emancipated himself from German training enough to avoid inflating Louis Napoleon's undoubted intellectual interests into the stuff of *Ideengeschichte*. Likewise the quality of his analysis and exposition of the political and social areas is uneven: often he shows extraordinary insight into Louis Napoleon's actions; at other times he does not fully portray and interpret events; and especially for the crucial years of 1848 to 1853, he occasionally fails to grasp the complex strategy of politics, does not clarify motives and effects, and loses himself in details. I cannot find that Euler has solved the basic question of how to make the career of this mediocre person as interesting as it was to contemporaries and as it has been to succeeding generations. Harold Acton faced a similar problem with the Bourbons of Naples, some or most of whom were ordinary, not to say dull, as persons; yet Acton has made their story fascinating. The difference between his method and that of Euler seems to be threefold. Acton saw that persons of this kind are interesting mainly in relation to their milieu, and he reproduced the milieu much more fully than Euler does that of Napoleon. Acton appreciated the colorful nature of the source accounts, quoting a great deal, whereas Euler rarely quotes and reduces the accounts to his uniform prose. Acton has a novelist's awareness of

the significance of seeming trivia, whereas Euler lacks this trait. It is to be hoped that for the next volume Euler will rethink his strategy of composition, that he will add to the excellent qualities of the present volume a richer array of materials and approaches and a deeper understanding.

University of California, Los Angeles

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

THE REVOLT OF THE CATALANS: A STUDY IN THE DECLINE OF SPAIN (1598-1640). By J. H. Elliott. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1963. Pp. xvi, 623. \$12.50.)

ON at least three counts the Catalan Revolt of 1640 can be rated a decisive turning point in Spanish and general European history: as the first of six mid-seventeenth-century revolutions from which the modern state emerged; as the final mortal blow bringing on the long-deferred international, military, and financial collapse of the Habsburg Empire; and as a myth-ridden memory that permeates deeply Catalonia's subsequent reactions to the War of the Spanish Succession, Carlism, federalism, anarchism, two republics, and the Civil War of 1936-1939.

Mr. Elliott's superb book, firmly based upon archival researches that yielded much significant new material, and drawing fruitfully upon the revisionist work of the contemporary Catalan historical school, is not a history of the twelve-year revolt as such, and only in its last chapters does it treat the climactic years 1640-1641 of Catalan secession and the union with France. His broader, more important aim is to explain why the revolt occurred, to unravel the incredibly complex tangle of clashing forces, personalities, and circumstances which forty-two years after Philip II's death brought Spain to catastrophe. Hence its subtitle: *A Study in the Decline of Spain (1598-1640)*; hence also its intensive examination of the policies and actions of Philip IV's great *valido* Olivares, to whose long ministry Elliott sees the Catalan Revolt as the chief, if not only, reliable guide because of the disappearance of most of his papers. This is a lucidly presented work of originality and insight that marks a considerable advance in our understanding of this crucial epoch in the development of modern Spain.

As never before, the protagonists in the eventually, perhaps always, irrepressible conflict are examined in detail and with evenhanded, sympathetic judgment. The Catalan Principality, still preserving in the full seventeenth century its medieval constitutions and merely contractual link with the Spanish crown, resented increasingly its domination by Castile and its exclusion from the fruits of national union and empire both in Europe and America. It was a land fanatically attached to its ancient liberties and its *Corts* and *Diputació* that rigidly limited royal rule through viceroy and *audiència*, a land at the same time of economic decline, of an embittered oligarchy of nobles and Barcelona merchants, of widespread banditry and incessant feuding. As for the government in distant Madrid, Elliott refutes the thesis that Olivares' efforts to extract subsidies, his *Unión de Armas*, and eventual billeting of Spanish troops were all a deep-laid

plot to provoke insurrection as a pretext for crushing the constitutions. Rather, the refusal of *Corts*, *Diputació*, and the Barcelona *Consell de Cent* to provide money or men, the crown's desperate fiscal and military needs, and the steadily rising fears and exasperations on both sides created a serious internal crisis which in 1635 war with France converted into a critical test of national unity and Great Power capacity. When in the next five years hardships of war, uprisings against the *tercios*, revolutionary leadership by Pau Claris and others, the *Corpus de Sang* and the murder of the viceroy carried the Catalans into open rebellion, no one was more surprised and appalled than the Conde Duque.

After the mounting tensions and the sense of tragic inevitability running through most of the work, the closing chapters with their quite consistent preference for explanation over description of the fast-moving events seem perhaps something of a letdown. The argument that the revolt can usefully be approached in terms of Chaunu's conjuncture of static Mediterranean and dynamic Atlantic commercial worlds will be more persuasive when we know more fully why the Barcelona bourgeoisie played so feeble a role in comparison with its counterparts in contemporary Portugal, England, and Holland. And more attention might profitably have been paid to the Catalan clergy—Pau Claris was a priest—to the monasteries, always so closely linked in Habsburg Spain to popular feeling, and to theological and mass devotional trends in the principality. But these are minor qualifications of an exceptionally fine and effective book.

University of Virginia

C. J. BISHKO

A HISTORY OF FINLAND. By Eino Jutikkala with Kauko Pirinen. Translated by Paul Sjöblom. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1962. Pp. ix, 291. \$7.75.)

A FULL-LENGTH history of Finland in the English language has for many years been one of the most urgent desiderata of teachers and students whose field of specialization is the Scandinavian North, past and present. For this and other reasons a warm welcome will be extended the present book, as will also be the case with the forthcoming "History of Finland" by Professor John H. Wuorinen, to be published in 1964.

As indicated above, the present work has been written jointly by two Finnish historians. The first three chapters, dealing with prehistory and the Middle Ages and covering approximately sixty pages, are the work of Professor Kauko Pirinen, an authority on medieval and Church history; the main author is Professor Eino Jutikkala, a specialist in economic history, who presents a sweeping and fairly detailed account, stressing the political aspects of the period from the Reformation to the end of the Second World War.

Perhaps more frequently than any other European nation, Finland has had to resist incursions of foreign foes, besides having had to face many seemingly unsolvable domestic problems. The long union with the Swedish realm, the interrelations between the Swedish- and Finnish-speaking parts of the nation, the

nationalist movements from the nineteenth century and on, and, not least, the centurieslong westward thrust of the Russian state are some of the hard realities of Finnish history, realities that brought much tension and conflict in their wake. The deeper meaning behind the conflict and the turbulence are stressed throughout this volume; combining scholarship with facile writing, both authors have also placed trends and events in proper perspective. The result is a judicious and very readable account. It is to be regretted, however, that Jutikkala has overemphasized the centuries prior to our own. By limiting to a mere twenty-five pages the treatment of the entire period of Finnish independence (that is, from 1917 on), he has made the over-all presentation appear not a little skewed.

Paul Sjöblom's English translation is very satisfactory, although it at times is marred by a number of rather curious renditions of names of persons and historical periods. For instance, attentive readers will be hard put to it to explain why a rather straightforward name like Bo Jonsson Grip appears as the puzzling and needlessly complicated Bo Jon's son Grip. No doubt American readers would also have liked to see that many widely used and traditional Swedish place names had been retained or at least had been placed in parentheses next to the Finnish names by which they have been superseded in this volume. For example, the Peace of Nystad is a well-known term but the term Peace of Uusikaupunki may be confusing. The addition of a bibliography would also have greatly increased the value of the book.

American-Scandinavian Foundation

ERIK J. FRIIS

VOM BISMARCK-REICH ZUM GETEILTEN DEUTSCHLAND: DEUTSCHE GESCHICHTE SEIT 1871. By *Johannes Bühler*. [Deutsche Geschichte, Volume VI.] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 1960. Pp. xiv, 1027.)

JOHANNES Bühler originally made a name for himself with a series of well-edited and readable source books on German civilization. He then turned to the writing of a German history from the beginnings to the present, this volume being the sixth and final one. It is twice as big as each of the preceding volumes, and obviously the author found the condensation of the material more difficult in the recent and contemporary age than in older periods. The book has actually become a loosely knit chronicle, rather than a history, of political events from 1871 to 1955. And politics means to Bühler chiefly the activities of governments. It is surprising that the author, who in his earlier studies has shown himself so much interested in social history, makes no attempt to give a picture of German society in the age when Germany was transformed from an agrarian to a highly industrialized country. But social history would have necessitated some attention to economic and intellectual history, of which there is practically none. The German people thus never appear on the stage.

But even within the narrow political framework Bühler fails to come to grips with the problems. In some of his chapters he organizes foreign and internal

politics in parallel subchapters and achieves thereby some superficial order albeit no integration. In general one small section follows the other, each dealing with an event or personality in rather strict chronological order which makes for great monotony, the more so since the book is written in a drab German prose. It contains, however, copious quotations from primary and more often from well-chosen secondary sources. The volume is correctly described by the publisher on the dust cover chiefly as "a collection of material for the history teacher."

The author is fair in his judgments on the policies of foreign nations and constantly critical of nationalism. He even speaks of Max Weber's "unbridled nationalism," while Hitler's government is a "criminal system" throughout. Although he is critical of Bismarck and more so of William II, he sees the period from 1871 to 1914 as one of steady German progress. It was the "ill-fated complexity [*Verkettung*] of the international situation" that in 1914 ushered in the age of world wars. In the treatment of the origins of World War I and the July crisis Bühler follows the line laid down by the majority of the German academic historians of the 1920's, and he carries it forward to 1918. The German invasion of Belgium, the unlimited submarine warfare, the deportation of Belgian workers are never clearly condemned as violations of international law but rather as actions helping the propaganda of Germany's enemies. Amazing is the statement that the "subsequent developments in the East had shown" that no more satisfactory solution could have been found for the Eastern problems than the peace treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest. The fact that the Germans realized a vast program of annexations that in many respects anticipated Hitler is "enemies' propaganda."

The Versailles Treaty is discussed in a moderate tone, though the assertion is made that Article 231 burdened Germany with the "sole war guilt." It would be desirable that Clemenceau's never uttered word about the twenty million too many Germans would disappear from reputable German history texts. The Weimar period is treated as one in which Germany rose again after the tribulations of the years 1919-1924. The world economic crisis and the rise of the Nazi party ended the auspicious development. For the popular growth of the Nazi movement Bühler offers no other explanations than economic distress and the diabolic propaganda of Hitler and Goebbels. In spite of the weaknesses in historical interpretation and occasional factual errors, Bühler's volume will be of value as a general reference book for the political history of Germany since 1871.

Yale University

HAJO HOLBORN

STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER ZYKLISCHEN ÜBERPRODUKTIONS-
KRISEN IN DEUTSCHLAND, 1918 BIS 1945. By *Jürgen Kuczynski*. [Die
Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus, Volume XV. Part 1,
Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter in Deutschland von 1789 bis zur Gegen-
wart. Dokumente und Studien zu Band 5.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1963.
Pp. vii, 200. DM 21.)

STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES STAATSMONOPOLISTISCHEN KAPITALISMUS IN DEUTSCHLAND, 1918 BIS 1945. By *Jürgen Kuczynski*. [Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus, Volume XVI. Part 1, Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter in Deutschland von 1789 bis zur Gegenwart. Dokumente und Studien zu Band 6.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1963. Pp. 287. DM 26.)

STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER LAGE DER ARBEITERIN IN DEUTSCHLAND VON 1700 BIS ZUR GEGENWART. By *Jürgen Kuczynski*. [Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus, Volume XVIII. Part 1, Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter in Deutschland von 1789 bis zur Gegenwart. Dokumente und Studien.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1963. Pp. viii, 390. DM 35.)

VOLUME XV of this series continues the history of "overproduction crises" in Germany, begun in Volumes XI and XII, beyond 1918. The well-known East German labor historian here discusses the process of capital formation in Germany as reflected in the crises of that period. The crisis of 1929-1932 is described as unique for its far-reaching ramifications. The ensuing depression of 1933-1939, Kuczynski insists, foreshadowed the impending collapse of capitalism in that it initiated a "deformation" of the business cycle and ushered in the fascist regime. He distinguishes between the normal "overproduction crises" of a capitalistic economy and the "underproduction crises" that occur during or immediately following wars. Marx, Varga, the Hungarian Marxian economist, Stalin, and Lenin are quoted to illustrate the "ineluctable" logic of the Marxian analysis of capitalism. Kuczynski had clearly arrived at his conclusions before embarking on this work and is using the relevant data only to buttress a priori assumptions. Besides, he ignores the impact of nationalism on the tariff and trade conflicts of the 1930's, the role of rapidly changing capital movements following the First World War, the postwar debacle of most European currencies, the repercussions of international reparations and debts, and the impact of differential monetary policies on the leading world powers during the 1920's and 1930's.

In his study of state monopoly capitalism during the years 1918 to 1945 Kuczynski traces the extension of corporate concentration from small and medium to very large corporate structures, a trend notably accelerated by the inflation of the early 1920's, the depression of the 1930's, and fascist policies. He contends that the old monopolies, notably in the coal, iron, steel, chemical, and electrical equipment industries, extended their sway after the First World War, using their vast political influence to undermine the socialist project of a cooperative economy during the Weimar years while, at the same time, throttling many emerging potential rivals. During the Third *Reich*, says Kuczynski, they gained control over raw material allocations and over the country's armament program and occupied key positions in the state and party. This entailed a virtual displacement of the political bureaucracy by functionaries of the great trusts in all sensitive economic and foreign policy offices. Kuczynski says this was especially true of the I. G.

Farbenindustrie, which dictated economic planning and foreign economic policy while it promoted the economic rape of Europe. Much of his case against the *I. G. Farbenindustrie*, as well as some of the material bearing on the Krupp interests, rests on testimony offered at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trial. Though Kuczynski uses extensive and well-focused documentation, he ignores the innumerable exigencies of war that made it both impossible and inexpedient for the regime to police the trusts, even had it desired to do so.

Volume XVIII of this series examines the condition of gainfully occupied women in Germany since 1700. A brief introduction traces the economic and social status of women from the beginning of the Christian era to the advent of the factory system. The author reproaches Christianity with the social and moral degradation of women as "the source of temptation and evil." Capitalism, he says, reinforced this Christian stigma with overt discrimination based on the need for cheap and docile labor. The plight of women workers deteriorated notably during the years 1849–1892 as a result of abuses associated with "freedom of contract" and in the absence of unionism and social legislation. The years 1892 to 1933 witnessed a gradual social and economic rehabilitation of gainfully employed women. They benefited from the wartime labor shortages and suffered less than men from unemployment and wage reductions during the depression years. The Nazi stress on a growing population and the re-employment of idle men drove women from many gainful occupations and undermined their social status. The acute wartime labor shortages of the 1940's did not reverse that trend, thanks to the extensive employment of foreigners, though the postwar years witnessed an enormous improvement in the German woman's economic and social status. Based largely on official publications, the Merseberg archival collection, monographs, articles, and general works, the book adds little to the known works of Karbe, Geyer, Strauss, and Wilbrandt, except to bring the story up to date and view it through the Marxian prism. Kuczynski's conclusion that a thousand years of woman's degradation and humiliation culminated in the triumph of humanism in the German Democratic Republic is not documented or argued. On the other hand, his admission that the class consciousness of gainfully employed women in West Germany has lessened appreciably since 1949 as the result of falling unemployment and rising wages and the combined propaganda effort of German and American "monopolists" comes as a startling anticlimax that impugns the Marxian ideological foundation on which the entire work is built.

Pennsylvania State University

ALFRED G. PUNDT

REICHSWEHR, STAAT UND NSDAP: BEITRÄGE ZUR DEUTSCHEN GESCHICHTE 1930–1932. By *Thilo Vogelsang*. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte. Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, Number 11.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1962. Pp. 506. DM 36.)

THIS absorbing inquiry into the relationship between *Reichswehr*, Weimar Republic, and NSDAP, from 1930 to 1932, must be considered a major contribution

to the historical literature of the period. Dr. Vogelsang, director of the library of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, is especially well qualified to illuminate this very intricate and fateful aspect of German history. His publication of Hermann Pünder's *Aufzeichnungen* in the *Schriftenreihe* of the institute in 1961 and his important contributions in the *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* attest to his sound scholarship and familiarity with the issues and documentation of the period. Vogelsang has made expert use of the large body of printed materials pertinent to his inquiry, and one can find no fault with his selections. The archival documentation is equally extensive and was collected from the files of the *Bundesarchiv* in Koblenz, *Deutsches Zentralarchiv* in Potsdam, *Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes* in Bonn, *Geheimes Staatsarchiv* in Munich, and the institute's growing collection. Among the many files used, one may note the Schleicher, Groener, and Seeckt *Nachlässe*, the *Bestand Reichskanzlei* (R 34/I), and the *Sammlung Zeugenschriften*. By his own admission the author has endeavored to place the main emphasis of his examination upon the "personal component," in order to reveal the chief protagonists in their human imperfection. While not rejecting the validity and usefulness of decidedly more theoretical approaches to the problems, characterized by the construction of "models" and analysis of causality, Vogelsang rightly emphasizes the need for a historical record of the actions, inactions, and attitudes of those individuals who directly influenced the course of events.

A condensed but very informative survey of the years 1918 to 1930 introduces the reader to the main emphasis of the book. The curious collaboration of civil and military authorities initiated by Ebert and Groener in the wake of German collapse, the emergence of Seeckt, the various plots against the state, the violations of the military clauses of the Versailles Treaty are reviewed in clear perspective. The author ably sets forth the manifold repercussions of these events and their effects during the final phase of the republic. The examination of the Brüning-Papen-Schleicher era is detailed and systematic; its main emphasis lies, of course, upon the relationship of *Reichswehr* to the state and the NSDAP. The grave political and economic problems, the mounting instability of political life, the growth of the extremist parties are examined in the light of their impact on the army. Schleicher's role in particular, indicative of the pivotal role of the *Reichswehr* in a critical phase of constitutional moment, is traced with great skill. In so doing, the author stresses the demand of the military for political *Mitbestimmung*. The dilemma of the potential forces of opposition to the National Socialist threat is shown in its tragic consequence, along with Hitler's rather ironic use of the constitution as a weapon. The study concludes with the failure of Schleicher to split the NSDAP and his consideration of a *Verfassungsbruch*, illegal in form but legitimate in terms of motives. In conclusion, the reader's attention is directed to an appended collection of important documents.

University of Colorado

WILLARD ALLEN FLETCHER

HITLER: REDEN UND PROKLAMATIONEN, 1932–1945. KOMMENTIERT VON EINEM DEUTSCHEN ZEITGENOSSEN. Volume I, TRIUMPH (1932–1938). By *Max Domarus*. ([Neustadt a. d. Aisch: Verlagsdruckerei Schmidt.] 1962. Pp. viii, 987. DM 64.)

THE author, *Archivdirektor* in Würzburg, explains in the foreword how he, a prolific scholar in Bavarian regional history of the eighteenth century, especially the Schönborn family, came to undertake a contemporary theme. From 1932 on, he began collecting Hitler's speeches and pronouncements and continued to construct his archive until 1945. To be sure, this is published material, but few would be tempted now to search through the German press for Hitler's utterances. Thus this work is valuable, though not to the extent implied by the title.

The introduction treats Hitler's personality, the undigested mixture of affability and brutality, the increasing *hubris* that led to Hitler's self-identification with the nation and, perhaps, a national deity, the untrammelled will, and the shabby cultural foundation. His essential purpose, Domarus thinks, lay in the plans of conquest adumbrated in *Mein Kampf*. Even his anti-Semitism was only a means to that end. Hitler the orator adapted himself skillfully to his audience, yet achieved no success with foreign hearers comparable to that with Germans. His speeches had a pattern: the almost inevitable *Parteierzählung* (Domarus' phrase), delivered slowly and undramatically; adept use of foreign words, the *Zahlenfimmel* for those rows of statistics, and the fictitious seven men with whom he "founded" the movement, the four and a half years of war and the thirteen years of disgrace; the speeding up as he approached his immediate theme, the fury and ecstasy toward the end. There is something in Domarus' analogy of this to the externals of a religious service—familiar gospel first, then emotions rising to a pitch. Interesting, too, is the frequent echo of Biblical or liturgical phrases and rhythms.

The text starts with Hitler's sanguine New Year's proclamation for 1932, a year when he spoke in fifteen election campaigns and involved himself in intricate maneuvers that edged him toward power. In January his address to the Düsseldorf Industrialists' Club (over twenty pages of fine print) helped to convince businessmen of his respectability. This chapter sets the book's pattern—continuous brief commentary, with proclamations, letters, telegrams, interviews in chronological sequence among political speeches and ceremonial set pieces. The remilitarization of the Rhineland, in 1936, brought a tone of increased confidence. In 1938, concluding the fat years, an ugly bellicosity grew with each "triumph." I noted in my diary on September 26 of that year, after the broadcast of Hitler's infamous *Sportpalast* speech against the Czechs ("Dort ist Herr Benesch! Und hier stehe ich!") that it sounded like someone stirring up a mob for a lynching.

The texts of the speeches show qualities already obvious in the reports of Hitler's first political orations in 1919 and 1920. They are thin, primitive, immediate. They shun the theoretical, including *völkisch* racial-mystical views,

which indeed were castigated by Hitler at the *Parteitag* of 1938. Rarely do they show any cultural level; those thousands of books Hitler supposedly devoured were certainly not serious literature or history or philosophy—no echoes from that world beyond a few clichés like Karl Bröger's lines about Germany's poorest sons being its most loyal, or a couple of reminiscences of *Faust*! What a contrast to the richness of allusion in Stresemann's addresses. These are like a performance, repeated hundreds of times, of a mediocre propaganda play, embellished occasionally by a striking phrase.

What is disappointing is the incompleteness, despite the bulk of the book. Almost never is a long speech given completely, and the few that are, such as the Düsseldorf address and the *Reichstag* speech of March 23, 1933, are readily obtainable elsewhere. Major addresses, such as those to the *Reichstag* on January 30, 1934, and March 7, 1936, are reduced to a fraction of the original, with insufficient indication of specific omissions. Far too much space goes to set pieces, congratulatory notes, ceremonial appearances, even lists like a court circular of Hitler's trivial official activities. Some notably important and notably typical addresses might well have been given in full. The words, to judge from several samplings, are generally carefully reproduced, but the customary omission of the listeners' reactions (applause, indignation, and so forth) deprives the reader of significant evidence about effectiveness of individual arguments. The volume is too scrappy to use as a real source book.

Harvard University

REGINALD H. PHELPS

STUDI SULLA NOBILTÀ PIEMONTESE NELL'EPOCA DELL'ASSOLUTISMO: MEMORIA. By *Stuart J. Woolf*. [Memorie dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, Series 4, Number 5.] (Turin: the Accademia. 1963. Pp. viii, 243.)

Just how the ancient nobility managed to maintain its predominant position in the various European states during the age of absolute monarchy is a question that has increasingly attracted the attention of historians in recent years. Following in the footsteps of M. Bloch, R. Mousnier, H. J. Habakkuk, and many others, whose studies have enabled him to draw frequent comparisons with other parts of Europe, and guided by the researches of G. Quazza, L. Einaudi, A. de Maddalena, and D. Beltrami into the social and economic conditions of northern Italy at the time, Stuart J. Woolf has reconstructed with admirable precision the varying fortunes of three old Piedmontese families from about 1550 to about 1800. He has found that in spite of the administrative reforms of Vittorio Amedeo II, which, as Quazza has shown in *Le riforme in Piemonte* (1957), excluded the nobility from all royal service except the military and the diplomatic and reduced many feudal holdings to the status of taxable property; in spite of the increasingly prevalent custom of limiting marriages to one son only, which threatened as many Piedmontese as Venetian (see J. C. Davis, *The Decline of the Venetian Nobility*

[1962]) houses with extinction; in spite of the facility with which the administrative and mercantile bourgeoisie moved up into the second estate and the resoluteness with which impoverished younger sons avoided drifting down into the third; and in spite of ruinous dowries, immense outlays for pure display, huge urban palaces, and increasing pressure from crown and communes, the old families of Piedmont succeeded not only in preserving their privileges and wealth throughout the eighteenth century, but even in surviving relatively unscathed from the upheaval of the French Revolution.

Specialists on these problems will be pleased with the great quantity of precise detail in the three main chapters and with the elaborate charts and graphs with which the author has tabulated his findings. Nonspecialists will be enlightened by the clear and eloquent summary of his conclusions, free from the least trace of social science jargon, in the lengthy but concise "Considerazioni finali." And some students, hopefully, will be inspired by the sureness of his method and by his frequent suggestions for further research in lateral fields.

University of Chicago

ERIC COCHRANE

STORIA MILITARE DEL RISORGIMENTO: GUERRE E INSURREZIONI.

By *Piero Pieri*. [Biblioteca di Cultura Storica, Number 71.] (Turin: Giulio Einaudi Editore. 1962. Pp. xvii, 883. L. 7,000.)

Few non-Italian historians will feel that they have time to read over eight hundred closely printed pages on fifty-five years in the military history of Italy, even though written by the leading authority on that subject.

Yet this book exemplifies an approach to its subject by which every military historian can profit, and in no other approach can the historian of modern Italy find such a compendium and balanced critique of the military aspects of the *Risorgimento*. Historians are all too prone to assume that military history is now obsolete, or of interest only to military buffs. This is true if it is merely the study of organization, strategy, and tactics in past wars. The great merit of Professor Pieri's approach is in his concept that a nation's conduct of war reflects the characteristics of a given political and social order and finds in these the limit of its military effectiveness. So conceived, military history becomes a highly profitable, indeed an indispensable, study for all historians, and even for military professionals.

The military problem of the *Risorgimento*, once the demand for liberation became irreversible, was to mobilize forces that could dislodge the Austrians without invoking the aid of foreign arms. As we know, it was not solved: Cavour had to get the help of Napoleon III, and the national ideal was compromised. Pieri is convinced that the Italians had a military potential which, if fully utilized, would have enabled them to free themselves. Its basic ingredient was present, he believes, in the fighting qualities of the Italian soldier of the nineteenth century. By 1815, thanks to participation in the campaigns and insurrections of the Napoleonic era, Italy had acquired cadres of officers and soldiers capable of fighting its own

wars. If, in the *Risorgimento*, the Italians, however heroic in battle, failed to win campaigns, the fault lay in the strategy, tactics, leadership, and organization that the commanders of regular forces gave them.

The Restoration left Italy two experienced regular forces, the armies of Piedmont and Naples. Pieri gives both high marks after their modernization, which began in the 1830's. He takes pains to show that the soldiers of both fought well, the Piedmontese army becoming a dedicated instrument of national patriotism. If its performances were disappointing, this was because its high command was badly organized, unimaginative, and overcautious.

Finally, Italy had the potentiality of insurrectionary warfare. Its own writers pointed this out, beginning with Carlo Bianco in 1830. He used the Spanish insurrection against Napoleon to show how a people's war could be organized and fought, and Mazzini immediately adopted his ideas as the military program of Young Italy. Bianco's treatise was followed by a series on the subject that included one by the conservative Count Cesare Balbo.

How to combine regular and popular warfare effectively without precipitating revolution had, by 1848, become the critical military problem of the *Risorgimento*.

Its solution was not found. The regular army commands and the governments behind them were afraid to use the potential of popular warfare. The Piedmontese used the patriotic volunteers anxiously and grudgingly. The ruling classes saw clearly that the peasant masses could be induced to accept conscription or fight a guerrilla war only by radical agrarian reforms. Even Mazzini and Garibaldi would not face the issue, which was social revolution, and insisted on postponing it until Italy was free. Pieri does not question the political wisdom of the course that was followed. But it set a limit short of the mark on the military capacity of the Italians of the *Risorgimento*. They had a military potential that they were politically and socially unready to invoke.

Why the author chose to combine his searching and valuable analysis with a re-examination and critique of every move on every field of battle is not clear. Perhaps from his love of military history; or perhaps he felt that only by such a complete and critical examination could he reassure, or convince, his public regarding the fighting qualities of his nation.

Baltimore, Maryland

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD

LA FORMAZIONE DELL'ITALIA INDUSTRIALE: DISCUSSIONI E RICERCHE. Edited by *Alberto Caracciolo*. [Biblioteca di cultura moderna, Number 578.] (Bari: Editori Laterza. 1963. Pp. 230. L. 1,600.)

IN 1956, Rosario Romeo, a historian of Croce's school, published an essay attacking Antonio Gramsci's interpretation of the *Risorgimento*. This and a subsequent essay were published in book form in 1959 under the title of *Risorgimento e capitalismo* (see *AHR*, LXV [Apr. 1960], 607). The ensuing polemic has continued to this day.

Gramsci, according to Romeo, had centered his criticism of the *Risorgimento* on the failure of its leaders to carry through an agrarian revolution. Romeo's main objection, apart from Gramsci's alleged "present-mindedness" and a tendency to use French history as a "model" for Italy, was that had such a revolution occurred, the capitalistic development of Italy would have been seriously delayed. Romeo contends that most of the capital used to establish the "prerequisites" for industrialization (especially transportation and public utilities), as well as the early industrialization itself, was derived from rents and profits of agriculture which, given an agrarian revolution and the consequent breaking up of large estates, would otherwise have been unavailable.

In my opinion, very little remains of Romeo's critique of Gramsci. Candeloro has observed that all interpretations of the *Risorgimento* have a "political" element. Manacorda has demonstrated that the agrarian question and the question of the South are specifically *Italian* traditions. Cafagna and Zangheri have emphasized that the backward forms of southern agriculture were a hindrance to any kind of positive development and that the question of agrarian reform was in any case not the heart of Gramsci's analysis.

Nevertheless, Romeo did render an important service to Italian historiography by opening up a debate on the dates, nature, and extent of the "industrial revolution" in Italy. This book, a collection of some of the more important articles resulting from the debate, provides an excellent introduction to the state of current scholarship. All the contributors are in agreement that the "take-off" period for Italian industrialization falls in the years from 1896 to 1908 and that the role of high tariffs and the intervention of the state were very important in determining the actual course of that industrialization. Gerschenkron believes, however, that protectionism and the active role of the state were generally hindrances to economic development, whereas Romeo tends to emphasize their positive value.

Cafagna develops a number of interesting ideas on the special problems of industrialization in a period when several industrialized countries already existed. He emphasizes the relatively greater demand for capital because of the higher existing level of technical development and the importance of simultaneously developing many branches of the economy. Both Gerschenkron and Cafagna, though for different reasons, stress the relatively fragile character of the Italian economy, even at the end of the "take-off" period, whereas, Romeo tends to emphasize its stronger elements. All are in agreement, however, on the supreme importance of financial institutions in Italian industrial development, particularly the mixed banks of deposit and investment that the Germans brought to Italy in 1894.

It is unfortunate that only one of the longer articles (by Dario Tosi) deals in any detail with Romeo's critique of Gramsci. The editor has chosen to concentrate on the problem of the actual development of Italian industrialization. This is all very well, but much could have been learned concerning the limits and distortions of that process had Caracciolo included either Luciano Cafagna's earlier article (*Società*, XII [No. 6, 1956]) or Renato Zangheri's contribution (in *Studi gram-*

sciani [1958]), both of which defend Gramsci's view of the *Risorgimento* and its consequences.

Rutgers University

JOHN M. CAMMETT

ITALIENS WEG IN DEN ZWEITEN WELTKRIEG. By *Ferdinand Siebert*. (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum Verlag. 1962. Pp. 460. DM 36.)

PROFESSOR Ferdinand Siebert of Mainz has written a balanced and perceptive book on Italian diplomacy from the Munich Conference to the Italian entry into the war on June 10, 1940, and has added a long introductory essay on Italian foreign policy from 1919 to Munich. The author has used printed documents, memoirs, and many of the secondary accounts. His study has value, therefore, as a fresh interpretation of facts that have largely been known to historians for some time. It is an important addition to the literature on Fascist foreign policy.

Convinced that Italy played a greater role than has been generally assumed in the tragedy that unfolded rapidly after Munich, Siebert devotes major attention to Italy's relations with England, France, and Germany. He gives considerable information on Italy's Balkan aspirations and intrigues and Italian fears that Germany and Russia threatened these ambitions. Siebert illuminates the "Fascist style" in diplomacy and pictures both Benito Mussolini and Count Galeazzo Ciano as inept leaders. If there is a hero in this story of weakness, miscalculation, and diplomatic failure, it is Bernardo Attolico, the Italian ambassador in Berlin. His voice was heard, but not heeded.

Both Britain and France made serious errors in dealing with Mussolini. Britain did more than any other country to aid in the consolidation of the Fascist dictatorship, according to Siebert. Relations were good between England and Italy through most of the 1920's and again immediately before and after Hitler's attack on Poland. In the end, however, British economic warfare, especially an embargo on the export of German coal through Dutch ports, helped drive Mussolini into war. Antagonized by Mussolini's methods, France refused, too long after Munich, to negotiate on Mussolini's more modest demands even though the British urged France to be conciliatory. Only an Italo-French understanding, Siebert concludes, could have prevented the outbreak of World War II.

The Italo-German relationship was devoid of friendship or trust. The *Wehrmacht* leaders had a low opinion of Italian military might. The final destruction of Czechoslovakia on March 15, 1939, was a black day for the Italians. Italy had less freedom of action among the powers after the seizure of Albania on April 7 and was now drawn closer into the German orbit. Siebert is highly critical of the careless way in which Italy negotiated the offensive Pact of Steel in May. Ciano was more realistic than Mussolini about the German danger, but lacked the strength of character to do anything effective about his anti-German convictions. Mussolini was deeply disturbed by Hitler's pact with Russia and by the prospect of war in September 1939, but was unable to prevent war and unwilling to break with Hitler. Hitler presented his ally with a long series of unpleasant surprises.

Siebert recognizes that Ribbentrop's visit to Rome on March 10, 1940, and Mussolini's meeting with Hitler at the Brenner on March 18 were decisive events in pushing Italy toward war and concludes that Sumner Welles came to Europe on his peace mission too late. By the end of March Mussolini had decided, against the advice of his generals, to enter the war at an early date. He felt that Italian prestige required this action. German power and success had blinded him with admiration and fear. Italy, he told the crowd at Palazzo Venezia on June 10, must break out of the suffocating confines of the Mediterranean to the oceans.

Colgate University

WILLIAM C. ASKEW

A HISTORY OF RUSSIA. By *Nicholas V. Riasanovsky*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xviii, 711. \$8.00.)

THIS is a thoroughly orthodox text of Russian history; therein lies its strength. There is altogether too much straining after novelty in the textbook business, and it is good to have a work that is designed for the classroom and written with students in mind. Yet Professor Riasanovsky does not talk down to his readers or assume a pose of unchallengeable authority; he demonstrates that the accomplished professional is himself a student who respects the expertness of others and, in doing so, demonstrates the collaborative nature of the historian's task.

The virtues of the book are many: its standards of accuracy are extremely high; the exposition of complicated issues is eminently clear; cultural history is given its due and placed in the larger setting; the use of statistics is discriminating and illustrative rather than overwhelming; and the statement of different interpretations of contested questions is always judicious and balanced. Indeed, on occasion the author might have asserted himself a little more strongly (for example, in weighing Soviet and prerevolutionary interpretations of Muscovite history), but where this restraint may bother the general reader, teachers ought to welcome it for allowing them to offer their own interpretations and hypotheses with whatever force and certainty they care to display.

Especially good is the treatment of pre-Petrine history and society. It is always difficult to make students with a presentist bias see the relevance and importance of this period; the author has made this job easier by his excellent discussion of different potentialities and possible lines of development inherent in early Russian history. In doing so, he has possibly overstressed the elements of receptivity and continuity, especially in the realm of culture, as against isolationism and self-containment. For a civilization whose religion, language, and law served as links to the outside world can hardly be, at the same time, parochial; nor would its turning to a world that had little in common with Muscovy have marked such a "sharp division" with its own past.

There are a few minor suggestions to be made for future editions. It would be helpful to students to point out that the German Suburb mentioned on page 230 is not the same as that described on page 119; that the help given Napoleon by Austria and Prussia was nominal rather than substantial and that the tsar was as-

sured of this. Why the zemstvo system was a school for radicalism and liberalism needs a line or two of explanation, and the description of Russia after 1905 as a constitutional monarchy ought to be accompanied by some reservation. This holds also for the characterization of Nicholas II as a "convinced" reactionary. It is doubtful that Nicholas' inclinations or habits deserve to be called convictions. The effect of Army Order Number 1 was certainly as described, but it did insist that in the ranks and in "fulfilling service duties" soldiers observe the strictest military discipline. The treatment of the provisional government's nationality policy on pages 507 and 509 should, if possible, be consolidated and its ambivalent nature (as regards Finland, for example), clarified. The flow of the narrative is impeded too often by references to such later sections of the book as: "will be discussed in a later chapter"; "as will be indicated in later chapters"; "to be discussed later"; and similar phrases. If such references are thought necessary, page numbers in brackets would do.

Riasanovsky has written a very good book. Is it too much to hope that now publishers will declare themselves satisfied and ask for other kinds of books, for example, special studies of periods and problems (preferably in inexpensive paperback) to be used in conjunction with such excellent texts as this?

University of California, Los Angeles

HANS ROGGER

VNESHNIAIA POLITIKA ROSSII XIX I NACHALA XX VEKA: DOKUMENTY ROSSIISKOGO MINISTERSTVA INOSTRANNYKH DEL [Foreign Policy of Russia, 19th and Early 20th Centuries: Documents of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs]. First Series, 1801-1815 GG. Volume VI, 1811-1812 GG. [Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.] (Moscow: State Publishing House for Political Literature. 1962. Pp. 864.)

A PREFACE to the first volume of this collection of documents announces that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR has undertaken to publish, in six series, a vast amount of material on Russian foreign policy during the years 1801-1917. The six volumes issued thus far, each running to some seven hundred to eight hundred pages, and covering only the period to the end of 1812, would seem to promise that, when completed, this series will be one of the major sources of the study, not only of Russian but also of European diplomatic history. Despite an evident desire, underlined in the prefaces, particularly of the first and of this volume, to present a markedly favorable view of Imperial Russia, this promise may indeed be realized.

The present volume, containing documents of the years 1811 and 1812, of course, provides much material relating to Franco-Russian relations, to Napoleon's invasion, and to the effect of the latter's defeat on the policies of the other states of Europe. Despite a century and a half of writing on the subjects, these new sources will be of undoubted assistance in matters of detail and in offering a basis for more finely shaded interpretations of these two crucial years. Beyond these much-dis-

cussed topics, however, there are other problems on which this volume presents information. Many documents refer to Turkish and Balkan affairs and to the Empire's general policy toward "movements of national liberation." There are, furthermore, a number of references to the United States, to its trade with Russia, and to the Russian offer of mediation in the War of 1812. Included are papers of the Russian American Company on the subject of negotiations with the American Fur Company in order to delimit spheres of influence and to prevent the furnishing of firearms to the Indians of the Northwest. The documents are printed in their original language, principally in French, but are edited in accordance with the present rules of orthography and spelling of each language. There are extensive notes and bibliographical references and subject, name, and geographic indexes. Although the mark of present Soviet views of Russia's past is clear in these volumes, they should not be overlooked by students of almost any phase of European diplomatic history of the nineteenth century.

Library of Congress

ROBERT V. ALLEN

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND THE ST. PETERSBURG LABOR MOVEMENT, 1885-1897. By *Richard Pipes*. [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 46.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. xi, 154. \$4.25.)

IN this small but useful volume Professor Pipes deals with two contemporary movements, both important and complex. What was to become the Russian Social Democratic Labor party and the labor movement itself in Russia were each still in a formative stage at the *fin de siècle*. Hence each was made up of many discrete elements, each pushing and pulling under the goading of the times.

The author does not present an exhaustive documentary history of the two movements, but rather an analysis of their development and mutual relationship on the basis of the known facts. The conclusions at which he arrives offer a substantial corrective to the hallowed claims of Soviet historiography on the subject.

For one thing, Pipes shows that, the claims of Soviet historians notwithstanding, the Russian labor movement developed largely independently of the Social Democratic movement. Furthermore, whatever influence the Social Democrats may have exerted on labor leaders, who were highly suspicious of them, they had to share with the vigorously active Populists. Indeed, Pipes maintains, it was often labor that directed the course of both ideological currents. For example, in his analysis of the great strikes of May 1896 and January 1897, which led to Russian labor's first great victory—the introduction of the eleven-and-a-half-hour day—Pipes shows that the Social Democrats neither instigated nor prolonged the strike, that they had even advised against the January strike, and that their contribution to these events was largely limited to editorial activity. On the whole, Russian labor organizations at the turn of the century were suspicious of the socialist intel-

lectuals and opposed efforts to lead the workers beyond economic and moral self-improvement into illegal revolutionary activity.

This study also serves to correct the exaggerated central role that Soviet historians have ascribed to Lenin as the originator of the Russian Social Democratic movement and chief inspirer of the St. Petersburg labor movement. Dismissing this as hagiography, Pipes gives due attention to the work and achievements of Lenin's associates and rivals. He thus reveals a considerably less-than-heroic-sized Lenin, who not only did not direct the Russian labor movement but who, as an intellectual, was cool and distant in his relation to it.

Soviet specialists will undoubtedly protest against this treatment. It is to be hoped that in so doing they may offer more evidence on the subject. However, it should be noted that if Pipes's array of documentary evidence is not as great as either he or the reader would like, the fault lies with those authorities in the Soviet Union who would not open the necessary archives to him. There can be no scientific method where all competent scholars are not free to use and to check the evidence. Until the Soviet Union permits other scholars to work in Soviet historical archives, no one can take seriously the pronouncements of Soviet scholars, however much we should like to respect their work.

Meanwhile the present volume stands as a noteworthy interpretation of a pregnant period in the rise of Russian Social Democracy and the Russian labor movement. Pipes has proved once again that a monograph need not be long, ponderous, or dull to be a contribution to knowledge.

University of Wisconsin

MICHAEL B. PETROVICH

THE SICKLE UNDER THE HAMMER: THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONARIES IN THE EARLY MONTHS OF SOVIET RULE. By *Oliver Henry Radkey*. [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 525. \$9.75.)

The Sickle under the Hammer is an important contribution, but it is not easy to arrive at this sober verdict, given the form in which the evidence is presented.

The Russian Socialist Revolutionaries, the nearest to a majority party Russia had ever had, certainly lost the revolution. For that crime Radkey indicts the SR's—indeed the book is more than indictment, for Radkey is also prosecuting attorney and judge as well as grand jury. His explanation of the loss is centered on SR factionalism and the control of policy in fact at the end of 1917 by members who were representative neither of party nor peasantry, were probably not socialist and certainly not revolutionary; adherence past reason to the concept of coalition government; obsession with keeping Russia in the war past belief; A. R. Gotz as an "evil genius" wrecking the party from within, and the weakness of V. M. Chernov as a leader.

The heart of Radkey's contribution is his analysis of the Constituent Assembly to explode the myth of a representative body controlled by the SR's and prevented

from giving Russia a peaceful, democratic, parliamentary government only because of ruthless Bolshevik suppression. His conviction, profusely documented, is that the Constituent Assembly would have accomplished nothing more than it did even if it had lived to die a natural death. The SR's in the Constituent Assembly were not a majority of the whole and, Radkey insists, were Kadet in everything but name. Peasants elected SR's because of the "attachment of peasants to the party label regardless of what that label concealed." This volume seems to conflict in part with Radkey's judgment, in his *The Election to the Russian Constituent Assembly of 1917* (1950), that the election was not only the freest in Russian history but that the people knew what they were doing. He is entitled to change his mind; in any event *The Sickle under the Hammer* shows clearly that the peasants were badly split. By the end of 1917 the peasant at home is not at all the same as the peasant in uniform. Radkey attributes the SR loss of Voronezh, once an SR stronghold, for example, to the soldiers. He sums up: "When the SR's lost the soldiers, they lost the peasants too, and so the revolution." This position also seems a little contradictory in the face of Radkey's vehement assertion all along that the SR's could do nothing right, even before they lost the soldiers.

The main difficulties with the book stem from Radkey's style and from his implacable disillusionment with the SR's and all their works. The language is often colloquial and relentlessly denigrating, characteristics that doubtless contribute to Radkey's impressive popularity in the undergraduate lecture hall. The volume is really not separate from the author's earlier *The Agrarian Foes of Bolshevism* (1958). The Bolsheviks and their activities are off stage, Radkey telling only how the SR's opposed—ineffectively opposed—them. The positive efforts of others are not part of Radkey's story, yet to omit the "hammer" leaves his "sickle" in something of a vacuum. Still, as Radkey relates the story, the SR's *did* operate in a never-never land not closely related to the realities of October 1917–January 1918.

All in all, it seems fair to conclude that the book accurately reflects the author's emotional partisanship as well as his scholarly conviction, but this judgment should not overshadow the fact that the work shows an enormous exploitation of sources and an insight with regard to the SR's that few outsiders could hope to possess and no insider could ever have.

Oregon State University

GEORGE BARR CARSON, JR.

BOLSHEVIKS IN THE UKRAINE: THE SECOND CAMPAIGN, 1918–1919.

By Arthur E. Adams. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1963. Pp. ix, 440. \$8.75.)

THE Bolshevik triumph in Russia has inspired reams of literature in many languages. Much of this literature, however, has tended to stress Bolshevik successes while neglecting many of their blunders and failures. Hence, publication of this book is a welcome event.

Professor Adams has produced a comprehensive, carefully evaluated study of

one such failure, namely, the Bolshevik attempt, between November 1918 and June 1919, to bring both the human and material resources of the Ukraine under Moscow's control. According to Adams, the Bolsheviks failed in their objective for four basic reasons. The first was the prevailing situation in the Ukraine, that is, social chaos caused by the collapse of the old order, a rapidly disintegrating economic system, the awakening of Ukrainian nationalism, an age-long peasant distrust of the townsmen, and the universal hatred of foreign and native exploiters. The second reason given for the Bolshevik failure was the presence of too many enemies (native and foreign), a situation that greatly complicated the conquest. The third cause was the time factor, or an inordinate haste in conquering the area, in order to exploit Ukrainian resources to meet Russia's desperate need for food, and ruthless suppression of all forms of Ukrainian opposition to this exploitation. The final category of reasons Adams terms "Bolshevik errors and shortcomings," including their attempts to implement policies poorly suited to the Ukraine, their complete refusal to work with Ukrainian Leftist parties, their open contempt for Ukrainian culture, and their indiscriminate use of terror, attitudes that "created new enemies faster than the old were destroyed." All of these complex problems are treated in a scholarly manner and are presented in a clear, stimulating style.

But, while meritorious in many ways, this volume has several important shortcomings. For one thing it heavily concentrates on the military aspects of the conquest and unduly stresses the controversy between the commander in chief of all the Bolshevik forces, I. I. Vasetsis, and the leader of the military expedition, V. A. Antonov-Ovseenko, who was the principal figure of the campaign as well as the author's main source of information. In several chapters, in fact, over half of the material is based on Antonov-Ovseenko's *Zapiski o grazhdanskoi voine* [Notes on the Civil War]. This overemphasis of the personal feuds between several chieftains over detailed military aspects, however vital, made it impossible for Adams to devote enough attention to such Bolshevik measures as food procurement, administrative centralization, abuses, and brutality. This is not to suggest that these problems are not treated. They are discussed in general terms but not in detail. Yet, as the author rightly argues, collectively these problems contributed most heavily to the failure of the second Bolshevik campaign.

Other minor objections include a description of Yuri Pyatakov as "brilliant," and Antonov-Ovseenko as a graduate of "a junker academy in St. Petersburg." The accuracy of the former attribute is questionable, while "junker" of course applies to the Prussian, not the Russian aristocracy.

In spite of these lacunae and objections, this volume is a valuable contribution to our understanding of the reasons behind the Bolshevik triumph in Russia and should be read by all serious students of Soviet affairs.

Portland State College

BASIL DMYTRYSHYN

SOVIET RUSSIA IN WORLD POLITICS. By *Robert D. Warth*. (New York: Twayne Publishers. 1963. Pp. 544. \$7.50.)

THE literature of modern history and of Soviet Russia in particular has seen in recent years the astronomical multiplication of monographic studies and of survey texts, but comparatively little of the basic works of intermediate synthesis that are of foremost value to the broadly interested student of history. We have histories of Russia and histories of Soviet Russia, but few period-by-period close-ups; E. H. Carr's multivolume study of the Revolution and the 1920's is a notable exception. Fundamental topical synthesis is weak in almost every field. There is no one-volume intellectual history of either tsarist or Soviet Russia; no up-to-date economic history apart from single Soviet or pro-Soviet publications; and most incredible of all in a world confronted by the chronic Soviet international challenge, no comprehensive histories either of tsarist or (until the appearance of this work) of Soviet foreign policy.

Robert Warth's *Soviet Russia in World Politics* fills this yawning gap in the literature on Soviet affairs with a running chronological narrative of Soviet Russia's foreign relations from the Revolution to the present time (right up through the Cuban crisis of 1962). Warth's vigorously written story is chronologically well balanced, with the mid-point in 1941, and it gives due attention to Russia's Far Eastern concerns and international Communism as well as to relations with the major Western Powers. Intervention, the Comintern-Foreign Office dualism, the popular front, World War II, and the peacemaking are well related in a familiar vein. For quick reference or as an introduction to the subject this book is a useful contribution.

From the standpoint of definitive historical inquiry Warth's book does not offer much new substance. The earlier portion relies heavily on existing scholarship in the field, while the latter part tends to become simply a rapid-fire compilation of news headlines, diplomatic communiqués, and reportorial conjectures. The amassing of facts stood Warth in good stead in his monograph *The Allies and the Russian Revolution* (1954), but the broad sweep of his present subject requires more systematic analysis and interpretation than he is inclined to develop. His habit of firing barrages of barbed innuendo at both sides (but more at the Western Powers) is no substitute.

Warth contents himself implicitly with the power politics school of Sovietology, with considerable borrowing from George Kennan's thesis of the antirevolutionary Stalin. Nowhere does Warth give adequate consideration to the ideological factor in Soviet foreign relations. This is not to demand that policy be interpreted in terms of direct doctrinal guidance—a view I find untenable—but the role and actual meaning of Marxist-Leninist theory in Soviet policy formation, and the attitudes evoked by the theory elsewhere, cannot simply be ignored as Warth usually does. He is reluctant to concede any grounds for the fear or dislike of Soviet behavior prior to World War II save the ideological snobbishness of the

bourgeois powers or the madness of the fascists. After 1945 (when he feels Soviet Communism had degenerated), he apportions the blame about evenly and gives Winston Churchill the only positive rating among the peacemakers.

Throughout, far more of the author's attention goes to the details of other countries' policy toward Russia than to the motives and factors in Soviet behavior itself. Much known data on Soviet policy formation and policy disagreements, particularly in the 1920's, is neglected. Specific errors are few, apart from some dates and the inadvertent description of Ramsay MacDonald as a "Marxist." For all its relevance to Warth's national power approach, the book is particularly weak on the Sino-Soviet discords since 1960, though it is expansive on the familiar Chinese story of the twenties and thirties.

Warth concludes with a long and useful bibliography. One might wish, however, that the many conjectural points in his text were more thoroughly documented. A very unfortunate lack in a work that is a potential text on international affairs is the absence of any maps.

University of Vermont

ROBERT V. DANIELS

Africa

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF GHANA: THE RISE OF GOLD COAST NATIONALISM, 1850-1928. By *David Kimble*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xviii, 587. \$10.40.)

DAVID Kimble's account of the rise of Gold Coast nationalism is a welcome addition to West African historiography. In a clearly written and well-documented survey, he has traced the interaction between the rulers and the ruled to the point where Dominion status was demanded on the principle that "good government is no substitute for self-government." He reveals a continuous nationalist tradition that stretches back to King Aggrey of Cape Coast in the nineteenth century. On the British side, the views of early advocates of preparation for self-government were swamped by late nineteenth-century racial prejudice. Meanwhile, the development of a single administrative and economic framework under colonial rule bound the diverse inhabitants together until the focus of their political loyalties expanded from the tribe to the nation.

Unlike some recent surveys of nationalism in West African countries, Kimble's work is firmly based on research in the relevant newspaper and manuscript collections. He is careful to note that a survey closing before the more intensive protests of the 1930's must be limited to "tentative and provisional conclusions." In marked contrast with this personal caution, he has embellished his text with hypotheses and insights drawn from earlier writers on nationalism. Some are apt, but others impede the development of his narrative. One wishes that all had been scrutinized in the light of the author's unique scholarship; some would have

been discarded, while others would have been refined. When he occasionally does take issue with earlier writers, as for example with Rattray and E. W. Smith on the Golden Stool, his criticism is perceptive, whetting one's appetite for more.

Every good book has some limitations, and the broad chronological sweep of this one has led to condensed treatment of certain key items. Fuller consideration of the writings of Casely Hayford and Sekyi would give a stronger impression of the force and subtlety of West African political thought at its best. More extensive coverage of the Gold Coast press at the turn of the century would also have been useful. Kimble stresses the continuity of the nationalist movement, focusing on the occasional challenges and numerous pinpricks directed at imperial power. He neglects an important segment of African political opinion. Imperialism, even when comparatively liberal and humane, was a system of power. The margin of permitted dissent was narrowed by such informal means as credit control, restriction of career opportunities, and social discrimination. Many Africans preferred to operate within the margin cultivating a talent for irony and advocating a decent and constructive imperialism, thus spotlighting the penny-wise and racist elements in contemporary colonial rule.

In short, Kimble's thought-provoking work will be invaluable to all students of West African history both for its systematic coverage of its important theme and for revealing areas for further research. The continuation he half promises, covering the following twenty years and containing his mature conclusions, will be eagerly awaited.

University College of Wales

HENRY S. WILSON

Asia and the East

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BENGAL: FROM PLASSEY TO THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT. Volume II. By *Narendra Krishna Sinha*. (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukopadhyay. 1962. Pp. vi, 300. Rs. 15.)

THIS second volume of Professor Sinha's definitive study of the economic history of Bengal from Plassey to the Permanent Settlement is a penetrating essay on the land revenue system in eighteenth-century Bengal. It supersedes much earlier work on the subject and will be especially valuable to beginners who want to understand the Mogul land revenue administration as transformed under the British. Just as the studies of Marc Bloch and his school have illumined the complexities of medieval "feudalism," so the work of Sinha and his students is performing a similar service for the history of land tenures in India. All such investigations emphasize the dangers of the continued use of the European term "feudalism" without appropriate qualification. A knowledge of European medieval tenures no doubt assists the understanding of Indian tenures in Bengal and elsewhere. There is, however, no substitute for close study of the rights and obligations

of individuals, for a clear understanding of Indian terms that have no exact European equivalents, and for painstaking analysis of social change in a rural society markedly different from that of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Europe. Contemporary Europeans were as much misled by "feudal" analogies as modern historians. In his old age, Philip Francis regarded Cornwallis as having restored a "feudalism" favored by Francis in 1776, but Thomas Law was much closer to the mark when he wrote in 1792, "If Mr. Francis's system had been adopted the zamindars would have been confirmed in their prejudicial prerogatives. He was in favor of restoring the old feudal system. Lord Cornwallis has destroyed the feudal system."

Those who read this work with European analogies in mind would do well to ponder the general rather than the specific. One cannot lay the book down without a feeling that here is another demonstration that a tangle of customary tenures, complex, confusing, and anomalous, often seems in the better interests of the peasant than a system characterized by greater order, symmetry, and supposedly superior wisdom. Sinha shows very clearly that, long before the British were dominant in the administration, the local nawabs themselves began to increase and regularize revenue demand, to impose abwabs, and to consolidate holdings. By the end of the reign of Murshid Quli Khan (1727), half the land revenue of Bengal was paid by six large zamindars. The infiltration of the British simply accentuated all this, especially through the partnership of greedy Europeans and corrupt servants, and the tendency to subdivide parganas and farm out the revenue for short terms of years to unscrupulous rent collectors. All this led, especially after the introduction of the Permanent Settlement, to an elaborate system of under-tenures not characteristic of the Mogul period. "The rage for order and symmetry put an end to old confusion but consolidated oppression wherever it existed."

Since the British were in full control of the situation by the 1790's, they must bear the largest share of responsibility for what occurred. It is, however, important to remember that, even under Indian rule, Bengal could hardly have escaped the consequences of urbanization, increasing population, and rising rents in the last decades of the eighteenth century. Those consequences might well have been less severe had an Indian government been able to arrest the rapid decline of domestic industries. Under any circumstances, the Mogul system was to undergo profound changes in this period. What appears most extraordinary and regrettable is that we must still study these changes primarily through British sources. Of the voluminous references in his volume, hardly a tenth come from indigenous sources independent of some form of European influence. Even the European accounts are sometimes so conflicting as to confuse the reader. We are told in the same paragraph that after the famine of 1770, "plenty returned to the deserted province," and, a few sentences later, that "the country continued to languish." Scholars who have struggled with the interpretation of the Black Death in mid-fourteenth-century Europe will read the chapter on the famine with great interest and will sympathize with the author's difficulties. We can be grateful that Sinha and his

pupils are pressing the search for new sources. With this and other volumes, they are placing the economic history of modern India on ever firmer foundations.

University of Pennsylvania

HOLDEN FURBER

HISTORY OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN INDIA. Volume I. By
R. C. Majumdar. (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 1962. Pp. xxi, 556.
Rs. 15.)

IN order to understand why this book was written, one should recognize the problems faced by Indians in rewriting Indian history of the past two centuries, during which most of the reliable records were kept by the British. By itself this volume will bring about that recognition, if it is not already present. Rewriting the history of India is especially difficult when one concentrates on the "freedom movement." For example, Dr. Majumdar limits his attention to the movement for political freedom from the British, although freedom can be more broadly defined, and the British were not the only oppressors. Furthermore, he must rely heavily on British documents to describe Indian behavior which was anti-British. Other problems arise in properly distinguishing a "movement" out of a multitude of seemingly unrelated events, and in connecting it somehow to India's ultimate achievement of independence; Majumdar frankly admits that he has not been troubled by the latter problem. Whose "freedom" was being sought? The present volume deals chiefly with efforts by localized groups (including bandits) to undermine British rule—this is not a history of the *Indian* freedom movement, some of which took place in the eighteenth century. It introduces the subject of Indian nationalism, but Majumdar rightly observes that until the twentieth century (a period to be covered by later volumes) this was not a movement for political freedom.

Indicative of the problems that the Indian "freedom movement" poses to historical scholarship is the current feud between Indian historians over the proper interpretations to be given to this phenomenon. Majumdar illuminates the feud by stating, in his preface and appendix, his rather bitter case against the government supported *History of the Freedom Movement in India* written by Dr. Tara Chand. Part of the disagreement stems from Majumdar's interpretation of Hindu-Moslem relations—he holds the "two-nation" theory—and the role he assigns to Bengalis in the development of nationalism. Majumdar also refutes the idea that the 1857 outbreak was a "war of independence," a view suggested in another government sponsored work, by Dr. Surendranath Sen. The author's self-conscious role as a reviser of history results in some interesting reading, even for a nonspecialist, but it frequently also makes one anxious to read the interpretations that Majumdar is trying to refute. This stimulation is valuable, and the current controversies among Indian historians are a healthy sign that the grip of British historical writing on Indian scholars has finally been loosened.

The foregoing remarks should not lead anyone to avoid reading this book;

they are intended, rather, to heighten its interest. It is well written, concise, and replete with penetrating ideas and new meanings for often cited facts. One may criticize the attention given to sporadic revolts against British rule in the period before 1857 as having no relevance at all to the achievement of Indian freedom. Majumdar's purpose was perhaps not to prove that connection, but to show that Indians were a discontented lot under the British. One may object to the author's view that the "real nationalist movement" was not embodied in the National Congress, but his honesty in identifying Indian nationalism with Hindu nationalism is refreshing and gives more insight into the reasons for Pakistan than do the standard works.

Majumdar's reputation has been achieved by his notable and original work in ancient Indian history. He has relied on the researches of others in preparing the present volume, but this does not seriously undermine the authority of his views.

American University

CHARLES H. HEIMSATH

Americas

GUIDE TO PHOTOCOPIED HISTORICAL MATERIALS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Edited by *Richard W. Hale, Jr.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association. 1961. Pp. xxxiv, 241. \$5.00.)

REPRODUCTIONS of manuscripts, unlike reproductions of publications, are not usually covered by finding aids. The need for a union listing of bodies of historical manuscripts in photocopy led the American Historical Association to sponsor the preparation of the *Guide to Photocopied Historical Materials*, which is designed "to supply basic bibliographical information on the photocopied manuscripts of interest to historians which are available in depositories in the United States and Canada." The work lists those bodies of historical and archival manuscripts—11,137 collections held by some 285 institutions—which "have been reported to it as being under institutional control at its assigned cut-off date of January 1, 1959." It does not include reproductions of publications, current administrative records, or manuscripts in private holdings, although a useful list of finding aids covering such reproductions is presented in the introduction.

The *Guide* is organized by accepted fields of history in the same over-all sequence as that followed in the *American Historical Association's Guide to Historical Literature*. Foreign countries are represented, but, as might be expected, most of the entries relate to American history. Many of the state categories are particularly impressive in their length and variety, including such subdivisions as census returns, state and county materials, town records, business papers, church records, and personal papers. The entry for each body of records gives

the name of the author, compiler, collector, or holder of the original material; the title of the material with characterization or description where necessary; the dates, amount, and location of the original documents; the types of photocopies available (such as positive or negative microfilm, enlargements, and micro-opaques); and the institutions holding such copies. The index, which is comprised mainly of personal and corporate names, is of limited usefulness and hardly goes beyond the broad subject arrangement in the body of the book. A detailed subject index would have greatly enhanced its value. In the future the *Guide* should be revised or supplemented on some kind of regular basis, for it will prove to be a standard reference work, of enormous interest to historians, librarians, and genealogists.

Vanderbilt University

DEWEY W. GRANTHAM, JR.

THE NATIONAL PERIOD IN THE HISTORY OF THE NEW WORLD:
AN OUTLINE AND COMMENTARY. By *Charles C. Griffin*. [Instituto
Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Comisión de Historia, Publication
Number 240. Program of the History of the New World, Volume III.]
(México, D. F.: the Instituto. 1961. Pp. xxvii, 267.)

THIS book would be most useful to those who wish to give a course on the development of the Americas, regarded as a whole. It consists of brief commentaries on such specific subjects as colonial reforms of the enlightened despots and the independence of the United States, together with bibliographical references and a more comprehensive bibliography at the end of the volume.

The work is divided into four periods: the first deals with the movements for independence of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; the second with the years 1826–1870, a period of national consolidation in many states; the third, 1870–1918, characterized by economic and political development; and the fourth, 1918–1950, marked by the multifarious changes of the modern world. Each period is dealt with on approximately the same scale.

The fundamental question that such a volume raises concerns the validity of the general idea, the treatment in a single book of the development of the Americas. The editor does not pretend, however, that such a treatment includes by any means all of the history of the Americas. He recognizes that there are many aspects of the life of the individual states that cannot appropriately be included in a general survey and cites as examples of this fact the Mexican Revolution of the twentieth century, the interventionist policies of the United States between 1898 and 1938, and the rise of *caudillismo* in Latin America. In this he is undeniably wise.

Is there a case for such an enterprise? Decidedly, yes. For one reason or another, Americans have in recent years been fascinated by the events taking place in Asia and Africa. Yet in the evolution of what we describe as the “undeveloped nations,” the role of Latin America is of greater importance from several view-

points. Discouraging as the prospect at times appears in some of the states, there is a greater prospect of free institutions in Latin America than in Asia or Africa. Varied as is the racial composition of these countries, there is in all of them some identification with the Western world of which we are a part. Difficult as are their economic problems, many of these countries are advanced far beyond the majority of the nations of the East. When one considers the importance of foreign capital in the progress of the undeveloped nations, and still more the importance of foreign technology, the Latin Americans, despite many manifestations of economic nationalism, have, on the whole, shown a degree of hospitality to foreign aid fully as great as that of the new nations of Africa, or most of the old nations of Asia. To say these things is not to ignore the pressing nature of Latin American problems, the population explosion in many of the countries, the existence of dire poverty, the reluctance of the possessing classes to face the problems of social adjustment or of economic development in their own states. It is to say that there is a strong case for an increased interest in Latin America, and for an attempt to bring together the history of the Americas, not in any doctrinaire or exaggerated way, but with the purpose of making what exists of common experience and common aspiration more intelligible to students in both the North and the South American continents.

Rochester, New York

DEXTER PERKINS

AMERICAN PHILANTHROPY ABROAD: A HISTORY. By *Merle Curti*.
(New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1963. Pp. xix, 651. \$12.50.)

HERE is a superbly done, much-needed pioneer comprehensive study. As its title indicates, it covers the record of philanthropic efforts from the United States in other lands. The author is frankly conscious that he is dealing only with the American phase of a global subject and that, because of the magnitude of the field, he has been able only barely to hint of similar programs from other countries, notably but not exclusively Great Britain. The study is primarily concerned with nongovernmental philanthropy, but rightly calls attention to the mounting correlation of private and governmental measures. The correlation has been especially marked since the outbreak of World War II, partly in attempts from Washington to coordinate and prevent duplication of private agencies and partly in the fashion in which the latter have utilized government resources.

As the author points out, the motives actuating relief have been varied. A major source has been the Judaeo-Christian tradition. Closely related has been a humanitarianism that sees an obligation in human need. Less disinterested purposes have been the promotion of business and the projection of a favorable image of the United States. Ethnic loyalties have also entered, as in much of the aid to Ireland in the famines of the nineteenth century.

Professor Curti and those assisting him have drawn their information from a wide variety of sources. They have examined many secondary accounts of

organizations that have had philanthropy as one of their objectives. They have looked into numerous biographies and autobiographies. They have consulted files of newspapers and periodicals for contemporary accounts. Especially have they taken advantage of the archives of the many organizations that have entered the story. Numbers of individuals have been interviewed who have had firsthand responsibility for enterprises of the past thirty or forty years. In other words, few sources for pertinent information have been neglected. Extensive footnotes identify the origin of the data.

The wide range of the projects described is impressive. Few if any have been missed. Those familiar with the history of particular projects will occasionally find factual errors, but so far as I have intimate knowledge, they are few and inconsequential. Some may wish that more attention had been paid to developments in which they have been personally concerned, but the author's obvious desire for objectivity and in general his sympathy, which is not confined to any one expression of the philanthropy that he records, are disarming.

So thorough has been the coverage that one is tempted to apply the adjective "definitive" to the book. Certainly any who wish for a view of the whole can ask for nothing more than is given in these pages. The author has rightly pointed out lacunae that invite further and more detailed studies of particular projects. Although everyone will concede Curti's desire to be objective, not all will agree with the criteria by which he seeks to evaluate particular programs and their results. Yet as far as any study that ranges over so wide a field can be said to have given the final word, the volume deserves that encomium. All future students either of the field as a whole or who essay fuller coverage of individual enterprises will find here a perspective and invaluable hints at channels for additional information. Not for many years, if ever, will the book be superseded.

Yale University

K. S. LATOURETTE

THE AMERICAN IMAGE OF THE OLD WORLD. By *Cushing Strout*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1963. Pp. xiv, 288. \$4.75.)

HISTORIANS will deny it, but there are still some whose faces turn a mottled red at the mention of Freud, Jung, or Adler. Conventional documentary history has served these historians well, and they cling to it. This is understandable, even commendable, when the subject of research is a traditional one. However, Mr. Strout's book is the study of an image, something he himself defines as a "mental picture . . . which is implicated in ideas, values, feelings, and prejudices." Both topic and approach would appear to call for the extraordinary, even including perhaps a consideration of the social psychology of Adler and the views on the collective unconscious of Jung. It is true that Strout goes beyond the historical bibliographies for his sources, but the materials he mines from them are mainly a combination, nevertheless, of history and literature, with a little fine arts added. *The American Image* is announced as a new kind of intellectual history, using "the analytical

insights of modern social studies." Actually it is not very new. Through its pages move, for the most part, the standard figures, Franklin, Jefferson, and others. Besides these men of affairs, certain American writers are levied upon for their ideas about Europe, Longfellow, Mark Twain, and James among them. Their publications are sifted, and the results are combined with the data from the writings of the public figures. The procedure is careful and workmanlike. Yet the reader is left with the haunting feeling that this is not quite enough.

This feeling is accentuated by the fact that the ideas Strout identifies as expressing the American image are, in a substantial sense, of two different kinds and do not yield to the same analysis. The first is the typical, the representative idea, the view of the many. The second is the outstanding, or as he puts it, the "significant" idea, the view of the one. The essence of the first is quantitative, of the second, qualitative. Strout shows an interest in both sorts and wants to comprehend them in his book. He is secure enough, certainly, when he focuses on the views of an American leader, for instance Wilson, but when from time to time he also makes assertions about the views of "most Americans," the reader is apt to be uneasy.

Strout's book divides, very roughly, into three parts. The first deals mainly with the ideas of eighteenth-century political leaders, the second with the ideas of nineteenth-century writers, and the third with the ideas of twentieth-century political leaders. The parts are well connected. The writers, because of their distance from the literal, are the trickiest to handle, but Strout analyzes them capably. The whole book is to be praised as an ambitious attempt to describe an important theme. Despite its shortcomings, *The American Image* says more in some ways than a school of tidy monographs.

University of Maryland

CARL BODE

PURITAN VILLAGE: THE FORMATION OF A NEW ENGLAND TOWN.

By *Sumner Chilton Powell*. (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1963. Pp. xx, 215. \$15.00.)

SUMNER POWELL's study of the origins of Sudbury, Massachusetts, is a capital piece of work.

For the better part of the past century, the problem of the origins of the New England town has nagged at American historians. Their results to this point have been largely debates over the beginnings of *the* New England town. *Puritan Village* is a thorough examination of the inception of a particular seventeenth-century American town. As such, this book provides an answer to the origins of only one locality. Powell would be the first to agree with his readers that the answers to the origins of other New England towns might well be different from his for Sudbury; he might also well insist, as his audience would have to concede, that only such studies as detailed and complete as his could provide insights into the start of other early New England towns.

For what the author has done has been to Namierize Sudbury by the means, at once simple and complex, of tracing out the origins of all of its most important settlers. The effort was a "six-year detective hunt among local records, archives, and private collections in England and in Massachusetts." The result is a triumphant justification of this effort. *Puritan Village* is a model study of its kind.

By carefully examining the background of Sudbury settlers from four English areas, each differing in attitudes, economics, and values from each other, Powell sets the stage for their potential activities in the New World. By an equally careful examination of the conditions facing these settlers on this side of the Atlantic, the author demonstrates how they created a new life here. For Sudbury was not merely a copy, nor even a blend, of Weyhill, Berkhamsted, Sudbury (in Suffolk), or of East Anglia; it was something quite new. Old England was present in this tiny hamlet of New England, but in a way that would have startled its progenitors.

The value of Powell's minute and fascinating analysis of Sudbury is further enhanced by the reams of appendixes he provides his readers and by Gerhardt Liebmann's sketches and drawings that liberally stud the volume. Wesleyan University Press provides a handsome format for a book that is worthy of its contents. But the publisher must regret that, the economics of book production being what they are today, it was necessary to price this volume at fifteen dollars. I hereby enter a plea for a paperback edition of *Puritan Village*, which merits a much wider audience than its present price will permit.

Massachusetts Historical Society

MALCOLM FREIBERG

JOHN ADAMS. Volume I, 1735-1784; Volume II, 1784-1826. By Page Smith. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1962. Pp. viii, 599, xii-xx; 602-1170. \$14.50 the set.)

AMONG leading American statesmen of the revolutionary era John Adams has received least attention from biographical writers. As he was misunderstood and little appreciated by his contemporaries, so they accorded him no hymns of praise that later generations might repeat. The present generation of Americans, with an urgent interest in their history, have available new comprehensive lives of the patriots—Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison—and now at last, of John Adams. His first biographer to have complete access, on microfilm, to the family papers, Page Smith encountered such an embarrassment of riches that he has given free rein to his pen in an expansive account of Adams' daily life rather than a unified portrayal of the man in the perspective of his time.

Smith states in his introduction that he has "attempted to see the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century world through the eyes of John Adams." To this end, the nature of the sources and his selective use of them were advantageous. Adams' personal record in his diary is, of course, of prime importance despite irregularity of entries and its relatively short span (by Adams family standards); it is better reading than any biography, but Smith has made effective use of many

quotable passages, including snatches of conversation that no biographer can resist. The autobiography, written after 1800, complements the diary and has peculiar value as "an old man's hindsight." Fortunately Smith was able to cite both of these documents in the superb Butterfield edition. As for the great accumulation of Adams correspondence, published and unpublished, most important for this author's purpose is the rich "epistolary dialogue" between John and Abigail Adams. If it was "an essential food of the mind and spirit" for both of them, in a sense it sets the personal tone of what becomes almost a dual biography. No letters by Adams or to him are quoted more than these, and during the intermittent periods of his public service when husband and wife were separated, the reader is kept informed of family affairs through Abigail's letters. In the extensive records of a public nature, however, the author seems to have confined himself largely to letters by Adams, for replies from his numerous correspondents are sparse among the continuous succession of direct quotations.

As a life story, biography must embody narrative of dynamic quality, propelled by the activities of the man and correlated with events of his time; the biographer has a further obligation, indeed a compelling desire, we may assume, to bring his subject to life by means of historical interpretation and imagination. Smith, subscribing to the concept of "history as a human drama," has tried "to present John Adams with all his foibles and eccentricities, his blemishes as well as his virtues, so that he may be seen in his full humanity." Adams is the central character in this revolutionary drama, the hero, if you will, although the author does not indulge in hero worship, and the close succession of events never obscures the man. Daily life being an amalgam of public and private moments, the author's strict chronological scheme achieves a kind of realism by casting diverse matters into close juxtaposition (debates in Congress and smallpox in Braintree or a crisis in President Adams' cabinet and personal misfortunes in his family). Both history and drama, however, must be selective of incidents and circumstances in order to sharpen movement and direction and to provide proper emphasis at the right point. This biography, given its personal slant and human interest, is constructed too much on the same plane throughout its ninety-two chapters and half-million words to hold the prolonged interest of the reader. The "plot" is diffuse, the unimportant being mixed in almost equal measure with the important. From his expert knowledge of early American history the author provides general background for the personal story of John Adams, with an occasional pause for historical reflection and interpretation. Smith cites no authority other than his own on such controversial issues as that legal and constitutional arguments were "supremely important" in precipitating the Revolution or that the Tory position during the war cannot be justified. Indeed, references to recent scholarly studies are almost entirely lacking.

What about the character of Adams "in his full humanity"? Again and again, at a critical juncture, we find a partial analysis of his personality or catch a glimpse of some facet or trait of the man—his sensitiveness to public criticism,

his obsession with his own motives, his practical realism as politician, his rugged honesty in diplomacy, his vanity and ambition for high office. Some of these flash pictures are illuminating in depth and contrast for the immediate occasion, but scattered throughout the long narrative they can hardly become cumulative in effect. A series of excellent vignettes will not emerge into a portrait, and no full portrait of Adams comes into focus at any point in this biography. The reader is denied a sketch along the way, like Bernard Bailyn's of the young Adams (*William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., XIX [Apr. 1962], 238-56), or a concluding essay of this nature.

A historical work without chapter titles, with intermittent citations to the sources, and with incomplete references to documents on microfilm will discourage many a user in pursuing pertinent information further. In a long, detailed narrative specific dates at convenient intervals are indispensable milestones to keep the reader abreast of the days and months, but here they are all too few. These may be regarded as minor shortcomings in a major biography. Not so the book-making, which is a deplorable specimen of commercial publishing. The paper is cheap in appearance; crowded pages of five hundred words each are compressed into two oversize volumes. No list of the well-selected illustrations and no heading for the index are provided. We can only conclude that by the time this period of the editorial work had been reached, dictates of economy overruled any slight feeling for design, and therefore the index must either appear without a head or terminate on the end paper! It is incredible that a prize-winning work should be dressed so shabbily by the publisher who gave the prize.

Institute of Early American History and Culture

LESTER J. CAPPON

ADAMS FAMILY CORRESPONDENCE. Volume I, DECEMBER 1761-MAY 1776; Volume II, JUNE 1776-MARCH 1778. INDEX. THE ADAMS PAPERS. Series 2. Edited by *L. H. Butterfield et al.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. lxiii, 424; xxi, 490. \$17.50 the set.)

The Adams Papers are to be published in three series: diaries, family correspondence, and general correspondence and other papers. To avoid bibliographical confusion, the editors request that citations be to the title of the series, in this case *Adams Family Correspondence*, not to *The Adams Papers*, "which is a collective name for an editorial enterprise that includes several sets of books, each with its own volume numbering and indexes and each intended to stand as a unit by itself, though of course related to the other parts of the work as a whole."

The present volumes, first of an estimated twenty of their series, contain letters of John and Abigail Adams to each other and to and from their children and relatives. The editors have also included some letters outside this category that supplement and illuminate the others. Every letter is printed in its entirety, with the scrupulous editorial care we have learned to expect from Mr. Butterfield and his staff. Though the letters are abundant and continuous only during the in-

tervals when the family circle was broken by John's absence, they project a surprisingly full picture of the Adamses' domestic life in the early years of the Revolution. John usually wrote under the pressure and excitement of his work in Congress, but the focus of his letters and of the volumes as a whole is on Braintree. Since Abigail was in charge there, the volumes are more hers than his.

They will not greatly alter the high estimate of her character and abilities that has prevailed ever since a selection of her letters was published by her grandson in 1840. But they offer a much more intimate view than he was willing to allow, and this may add a little to her stature. Charles Francis Adams deleted many homely passages in the letters he printed, and he tidied up the spelling and grammar. The result was to diminish his grandmother's literary charm. Eighteenth-century letter writers, excessively preoccupied with the notion of the letter as a literary genre, often strained for elegance of diction. John Adams shook off this affectation earlier and more easily than his wife, whose development was somewhat retarded by her admiration and friendship for Mercy Otis Warren. Mrs. Warren had literary pretensions that Abigail accepted and sometimes tried to imitate. The editorial changes made by Charles Francis Adams in his grandmother's letters were such as Mrs. Warren would have approved. In the new edition Abigail remains the admirer and occasional imitator of Mrs. Warren, but the growing economy and vigor of her own expression stand in striking contrast to her friend's relentless outpouring of clichés.

The most insistent topic in the full correspondence of John and Abigail Adams, apart from the sense of deprivation that each felt in the other's absence and apart from their common enthusiasm for the Revolution, was sickness and the threat of sickness. By omitting passages relating to this topic, C. F. Adams removed a major element needed for reconstructing the home life of the Adamses. Anyone who has studied domestic life in the eighteenth century or in any period before the past hundred years knows how steadily every family had to face disease. From 1774 to 1777 the Adams family was threatened by dysentery, throat distemper, pleurisy, and smallpox, each of which could be deadly. Even inoculation for smallpox involved dangers that frightened Abigail more than the British army ever did. And, as is brought out in the correspondence, smallpox was actually a much greater killer than British bullets in the American armies.

Here and in a thousand other places the domestic life of the Adamses touched the larger problems of state and national life. Consequently, although the *Adams Family Correspondence* can stand as a unit in itself, it will also be read in conjunction with the other *Adams Papers*, especially as more of these are published in the third series. One must therefore be the more grateful that these volumes are furnished with a superb index.

Yale University

EDMUND S. MORGAN

POLITICAL PARTIES IN A NEW NATION: THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE, 1776-1809. By *William Nisbet Chambers*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963. Pp. 231. Cloth \$4.50, paper \$1.50.)

THIS remarkable interpretive essay traces early American politics from nonparty beginnings to the emergence of the modern two-party system, the first system based on widespread popular participation, representation of varied interests, and alternative policy choices. Besides the prologue and epilogue, there are nine chapters, an introductory one on factional politics from the Revolution to the Constitution, seven chapters on the Federalist-Republican conflict of the 1790's, and a concluding chapter on party politics during Jefferson's two terms as President. The prologue is an overview of the genesis of modern parties, the epilogue a summary of the transitional period between the decline of the original party system and the emergence of a new two-party system in the Jacksonian period. Essentially, therefore, the book is a distillation and synthesis of recent writings on the 1790's, and Chambers relies heavily on the findings of Joseph Charles, Noble Cunningham, Manning J. Dauer, Stephen Kurtz, and others. Although it is not quite the pioneering study that the publisher claims, it is nonetheless a stimulating, perceptive, and useful account of the special characteristics of a unique American development.

The adoption of the federal Constitution, Chambers observes, created a national political arena and set the stage for the appearance of national political parties. Singling out the 1790's as "America's great decade of political genesis," he deftly outlines the transition from the confusion of factional politics in the preparty period to the coherence and order of the Federalist period, when Hamilton developed his economic program under the charismatic mantle of Washington. The debate over national economic policy generated opposition, and Republicans and Federalists began to shape into powerful political phalanxes with distinctive programs, ideologies, structures, and followings. The debate over Jay's Treaty finally crystallized issue oriented parties, speeding advances in party voting, structure, and spirit. As party organizers, however, the Republicans quickly surpassed the Federalists, creating a "popular" party conceived as a democratic instrument rather than a "plebiscitarian" party operating in a democratic context under elitist leadership. In the decisive election of 1800, Republican victory was a tribute not only to Jeffersonian ideology but also to a better-disciplined party organization. As the Federalists disintegrated after 1800, however, dissension appeared in the Republican party, and Chambers concludes with a brief sketch of Jefferson's presidency as a bridge between his extensive analysis of the 1790's and an epilogue on factional strife within Republican ranks between 1809 and 1829, when the original party system gave way to the second American two-party system.

Chambers' general approach is that of narrative history, with brief asides for a political scientist's analytical commentary on two themes: general problems involving the nature, functions, and behavior of political parties in the process of

nation building, and a comparison of aspects of early American political development with the experience of today's emergent nations. The second theme, for all of the author's stress in his preface, is a distinctly minor one, but it is worth noting that he is considerably more optimistic than Hannah Arendt, in her book *On Revolution*, about the usefulness of some knowledge of the American experience for contemporary new nations.

Institute of Early American History and Culture

JAMES MORTON SMITH

JEFFERSON AND HIS TIME. Volume III, JEFFERSON AND THE ORDEAL OF LIBERTY. By *Dumas Malone*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1962. Pp. xxx, 545. \$7.50.)

THE appearance of this new installment of Dumas Malone's multivolumed life of Thomas Jefferson is a heartening event. The first two volumes, published in 1948 and 1951, gave Americans good reason to believe that they were at last to have a biography of one of their greatest men worthy of the subject. After a wait of nearly a dozen years, this third volume brings the hope appreciably closer to fulfillment.

In point of time, *Jefferson and the Ordeal of Liberty* carries the many-sided Virginian from 1792, when he was serving as George Washington's Secretary of State, through three years of retirement at "Monticello," through four years of service as Vice-President during the Adams administration, to election by the House of Representatives as President in February 1801.

In spirit and method, Malone continues as before. He has carefully considered all the available evidence and weighed the interpretations of other workers in the field, acknowledging his obligations generously. His own conclusions are those of a careful scholar who is an admirer but not an idolater of Jefferson. He is writing not a literary or narrative biography but an analytical one. In general, he presents his material topically and chronologically and writes (with a few exceptions, as in his somewhat confused accounts of the Genêt mission and the XYZ Affair) clearly and with a certain grace. For the benefit of the reader he is specifically addressing—the serious student and the fellow scholar—he provides a carefully prepared scholarly substructure: a Jefferson chronology, easy to use footnote documentation, two illuminating "long notes," a serviceable bibliography, a good index.

It is unlikely that many members of the large public will read Malone (at least in this version), but those who write and speak to the large public on the American past will. Malone's Jefferson seems certain to become the Jefferson of our age. For the eight and one-half years this volume covers, it will correct the colorful but oversimplified and biased picture of Claude Bowers' *Jefferson and Hamilton* that has enthralled the American imagination for the past thirty-five years.

As the title he has given the entire work suggests, Malone has undertaken to give an account not only of Jefferson's life but his times. This broad definition is obviously the reason for such passages as those detailing Washington's second

inauguration, the Federalists' attitude toward the execution of Louis XVI, the problems of neutrality in 1793, and the operation of the Alien and Sedition Acts, in which Jefferson is momentarily lost sight of or the focus upon him blurred. Jefferson's personality is so complex and his career so long and varied that a reader may wonder whether Malone would not have done better to concentrate more on the man and let other historians detail the times. In the fashion Malone is doing it, he increases the magnitude of his task and compromises the quality of his accomplishment.

But when he is dealing with matters that directly concern Jefferson, Malone is very good indeed. His account of Jefferson conscientiously and ably playing a part on Washington's "team," while Alexander Hamilton attempts to arrogate unto himself decisions of domestic and even foreign policy, is both illuminating and fair. He portrays Jefferson as a daring but cautious, ever inquisitive but sometimes mistaken pioneer in the field of science. He shows the Virginian working tirelessly on his lifelong architectural project, "Monticello." Some of the most appealing pages of the volume depict Jefferson the widower, father, father-in-law, and grandfather.

Malone's book is particularly valuable for the information it gives on a problem that has engaged the attention of many students during recent years: the origins of political parties under the federal Constitution. He concludes that Jefferson's role was more "that of mobilizer than of organizer" of the anti-Federalist opposition and that he did not actually assume leadership of the party until 1797. He characterizes Jefferson's draft of the Kentucky Resolutions as "prolix and repetitious—a thing that could not often be said of his important papers" and says that while they were undoubtedly instigated "to preserve his party and to check what he regarded as a trend toward consolidation, he was not seeking primarily to safeguard local interests and certainly not vested interests, but the freedom of men everywhere to think as they liked and speak as they liked."

Malone picks his way carefully through the evidence available on the election of 1800, reaching conclusions that foreshadow Jefferson's later troubles with Aaron Burr. "The unnecessary uncertainty about the presidency," he says, "blurred the significance of the election"—a theme he will have opportunity to develop in his next volume. This is a volume to be anticipated eagerly, for although the main outlines of Henry Adams' classic account of Jefferson's presidency are likely to remain unaltered, a more impartial interpretation of the period, and particularly Jefferson's part in it, is long overdue.

New York Times

RAYMOND WALTERS, JR.

AGAINST WIND AND TIDE: A BIOGRAPHY OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON. By *Walter M. Merrill*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. xvi, 391. \$8.75.)

THE centennial observance of the Civil War and the currently troubled state of race relations have brought renewed interest to the study of American slavery and

those who supported and opposed it. Louis Filler and Hazel Wolf, among others, have directed attention toward the abolitionists; Stamp, Elkins, Stanton, and others have restudied anew certain problems of slavery and race. It was inevitable, of course, that attention would also fall on William Lloyd Garrison, who is bound to be involved in any such discussion. There have been at least four full-length studies of Garrison since the influential work on abolition begun by Gilbert Barnes and Dwight Dumond in the 1930's, all of them conditioned in one way or another by their assessment of Garrisonian abolitionism which, as C. Vann Woodward has recently pointed out, is no doubt ripe for re-examination.

Professor Merrill, who is chairman of the English department at Wichita, agrees at the outset that Garrison is a hard man for the biographer to handle. He was not really a deep or complex character, but he was a puzzling one, a man who aroused strong feelings in friends, enemies, and biographers. His admirers created from him a mythical figure who never was; his detractors made him into a satanic figure he equally was not. Merrill begins from a common-sense middle ground. He is as judicious and fair as anyone can be in writing of a man who could be so irritatingly and self-righteously right, and so breathtakingly wrong—often simultaneously—as Garrison was. The result is a well-balanced, informative, and eminently useful narrative.

His purpose in adding another biography of Garrison to the growing list, the author writes, is twofold, "to evaluate the character and personality of Garrison the man, and afford a solid basis for appraisal of his position in the American antislavery movement." The book is successful on both counts. Garrison has become so identified with his crusade that one forgets he was a person, with a private as well as a public life. Merrill lays out the facts of both in detail, whether they be discreditable or admirable, for the reader's judgment. His careful and thorough coverage of the sources does not substantially change the accepted versions of the major events in Garrison's life, but he does include a great many bits of new or modified information which, put together, greatly illuminate Garrison's character and career. This is particularly true of the book's treatment of Garrison's boyhood, many of his personal relationships, and his post-Civil War career. One tends to forget that abolition was but one of Garrison's interests and that he was active in reform for fourteen years after the war.

The author concludes that Garrison's reputation has suffered from too much historical overcorrection, and that his role in abolitionism, if not so decisive as his adherents and Garrison himself assumed, was nevertheless more important than recent studies have granted. His great distinction, the author feels, lay in the fact that whether he deserved it or not, Garrison became, and still remains, "as editor and personality . . . the chief symbol of the abolition crusade." This is a reasonable and accurate assessment of the man, which claims neither too much nor too little and which the facts support. Most historians, I believe, will allow the judgment to rest here.

Michigan State University

RUSSEL B. NYE

MANIFEST DESTINY AND MISSION IN AMERICAN HISTORY: A REINTERPRETATION. By *Frederick Merk*. With the collaboration of *Lois Bannister Merk*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1963. Pp. ix, 265, xi. \$5.95.)

THIS ripe interpretation of nineteenth-century American expansionism grows out of a lifetime of study and reflection. Professor Merk emphasizes the impulse of manifest destiny, which he distinguishes sharply from other expansionist impulses. The term properly applies, he argues, only to the idea that the United States must extend to the continental limits of North America. The idea did not figure prominently in the country's earlier expansion through the annexation of Texas, but emerged full blown only about 1845 to flourish for three or four years thereafter. This ebullition of national egotism Merk examines intensively. Then more briefly, and for comparative purposes, he describes the bastardizing of manifest destiny in the Caribbean expansionism of the 1850's and its disappearance in the insular expansionism at the end of the century.

Merk argues that the expansionism of the Polk years was primarily ideological in origin, supporting his argument with much fresh material on the provenance of manifest destiny attitudes, particularly in the press. It appears that the strongest support for continentalism came from the widely circulated new penny papers of the northeastern cities. In so far as one can judge from editorial opinion, manifest destiny was most popular in New York City. It was also espoused fairly generally in the Democratic press, especially in the Northwest, but the South appears to have been singularly ambivalent or cautious about expansion.

Perhaps "propaganda" would be a more accurate term than "ideology" for the phenomenon as Merk interprets it. Both in the 1840's and in the 1890's he sees the American people as blundering or being dragged into a distasteful expansionism, and he seems to be at some pains to exonerate them, or a majority of them, from believing in what they were doing. He explicitly denies that the expansionism of the 1840's arose from a general nationalism, arguing that the exponents of manifest destiny were exponents of states' rights and opposed to the nationalism of Hamilton and Clay. This appears to me to confuse two distinct meanings of the word "nationalism." He also cites the Senate's decisive rejection of the Texas annexation treaty in the spring of 1844 to prove the weakness of expansionist sentiment, when in fact the treaty had a good chance for ratification until Calhoun tied it to the defense of slavery.

Whatever the truth about the extent of expansionist sentiment, the author has delineated more clearly than anyone else the ideology of manifest destiny and its place in the history of nineteenth-century expansionism. Particularly persuasive is his argument that manifest destiny went aground on the shoals of Anglo-Saxonism, losing its headway when it faced the prospect of assimilating non-Anglo-Saxon peoples into the American nation. Once the country abandoned manifest destiny, with its idealistic aim of bringing additional peoples into the Union by free consent and on a footing of full equality, any future American expansionism would have to be a naked colonialism. This, says Merk, is what the

insular imperialism at the end of the century was, and this, in the end, the American people rejected.

Merk's study is in part a testament of faith in his country and its people. If he pushes to the limit his argument that "continentalist and imperialist doctrines were never true expressions of the national spirit," it is because he sees a "truer expression" which he calls the idea of mission. Manifest destiny and imperialism are both dead in America, Merk concludes. But mission "is as much alive as it ever was. It is still the beacon lighting the way to political and individual freedoms—to equality of right before the law, equality of economic opportunity, and equality of all races and creeds. It is still, as always in the past, the torch held aloft by the nation at its gate—to the world and to itself."

University of California, Berkeley

CHARLES SELLERS

POLITICS, PRINCIPLE, AND PREJUDICE, 1865-1866: DILEMMA OF RECONSTRUCTION AMERICA. By *LaWanda Cox* and *John H. Cox*. (New York: Free Press of Glencoe. 1963. Pp. xiii, 294. \$6.00.)

MUCH of the historical writing on the leading men, measures, and institutions of the Reconstruction period has offered spectacular and superficial answers, but has failed to ask significant questions. By the 1950's, Reconstruction historiography deserved description as a dim and gory terrain.

Now it is less dark. Through the fruitful employment of rich new source collections such as the S.L.M. Barlow Papers, the Coxes have illuminated the national political structure and the nation's political opportunities in the immediate post-Appomattox years, as they have never before known light. Their general findings affirm the conclusions of other recent workers in this vineyard (who will regret that this book was not at hand earlier to ease labors and to offer comfort and guidance). The revisionist depiction of Andrew Johnson as a defender of democracy is further assailed. Instead Johnson is shown as an architect less of democracy than of a strikingly conservative Democracy.

The astonishing resilience of the Democratic organization after Appomattox has long wanted explanation. North and South, Democratic candidates were afield in time to make the elections of 1865 through 1868 close and critical, despite the burdens of secession and treason that the party bore. The Coxes have performed a large service by this close examination of the President's role in the reconstruction of the American Democracy. To be sure the story is still incomplete, for it was not the intention of these authors to offer it entire. They have, however, provided what Lincoln might have called "a good ready" for further inquiry.

Among individuals, President Johnson and William Seward properly receive most attention. Their relationship has been obscure, and now we know how important that association was. A veritable Coxes' army of facts indicates that Johnson and Seward joined their considerable forces in order to build a permanent Union

coalition for conservative purposes out of the wartime Republican-Union coalition. Flirting with the far right of the regular Democrats while living with the unhappy moderate Republicans, the President's maneuverings confused the fundamental political question of what the peace should mean. Johnson's anti-Negro concerns clashed with loftier convictions held by many of his countrymen. Republicans resisted his attacks until patience wore away, and open warfare followed two years of uncertainty.

Concentration on the renascent Democrats impelled the Coxes to slight the Republicans, as well as the judiciary, the army, and other significant institutions. The scope the authors set for themselves makes these omissions admissible but regrettable in the sense that a rich feast leads to greed. Hopefully, a future volume will essay the broader overview of political developments during these years, for which this book whets the appetite.

John and LaWanda Cox deserve congratulations for their accomplishment. They have drawn in modern terms a convincing estimation of how the fate of the Negro became a base for political action and organization. Their book will inspire constructive controversy, for critics will have to counter with equally impressive evidence and judgments. The conclusion of this impressive study deserves quotation: "By standing adamant against a federally enforceable pledge of minimum civil equality for the Negro as a prerequisite to restoration of the secession states, Johnson precipitated a great issue of moral principle central to the battle over Reconstruction; and he brought upon himself an unparalleled humiliation."

University of Illinois

HAROLD M. HYMAN

THE AWKWARD YEARS: AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS UNDER GARFIELD AND ARTHUR. By *David M. Pletcher*. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1962. Pp. xvi, 381. \$7.50.)

THE acknowledged major purpose of this book is to trace the unfolding of "expansionism," the author's term for foreign policies aimed at gaining international prestige, markets, and security, and to relate expansionism to concurrent political and economic conditions. Except for comparisons, Pletcher limits himself to the administrations of Garfield and Arthur, in which he tries to show how much the diplomacy of Secretaries Blaine and Frelinghuysen had in common. Among the regrettable resemblances was a certain ineptitude which accounts for the title.

The author demonstrates, however, that the expansionism of both men, even though repudiated then, attracted support during the next decade and emerged as the imperialism and internationalism of McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt. He makes his points effectively, but the book's merit lies less in its conclusions, which are not altogether novel, than in its marshaling of the evidence, which is admirable.

Topics are treated with a good sense of proportion; the sources cited are impressively broad and varied. Pletcher has made a valiant effort to carry his investigation beyond the official communications bearing on his subject into the area of

public opinion as indicated in magazines and newspapers. Although he provides ample and pertinent detail, he is also happily able, and brave enough, to generalize and to interpret. The book is strongest in treating matters involving the United States and other American countries, but does not ignore Hawaii, Korea, Madagascar, or the Congo, as well as many other countries outside the Western Hemisphere with which diplomatic questions arose.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE F. HOWE

THE LIFE INSURANCE ENTERPRISE, 1885-1910: A STUDY IN THE LIMITS OF CORPORATE POWER. By *Morton Keller*. [Publication of the Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America, Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 338. \$7.25.)

MORTON Keller directs attention here to the nature of the quest for power by the magnates of the life insurance industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and to the process by which the leading companies were transformed from "among the lustiest of America's corporations" into today's "giants without power." Keller has developed a significant thesis—that "there are internal as well as external checks to the force of the corporate institution"—which he advances as an adjunct to Galbraith's concept of countervailing forces. In penetrating chapters on management and corporate structure, marketing, investment policy, and relations with government regulatory authorities, the author emphasizes the complex of tensions that arose in the business of the major life insurance companies "between opportunity and responsibility, between power and diffusion." Managerial practices of questionable propriety contrasted strongly not only with the expected standards of a quasi-public institution, a status the industry had achieved by making life insurance socially important, but also with the prevailing business ethos. Legislation resulting from the disclosures of the Armstrong investigation constituted an external check to power, but the internal checks developing from situations in management, investment practices, and marketing already foreshadowed a "disengagement from power."

Keller buttresses his argument with detailed evidence drawn from careful research in available company records and papers of executives, trade publications, and government records. He acknowledges some similarities in interpretation to the work of Douglass C. North, but Keller's focus is on the life insurance enterprise as a social institution. Some readers may regret the absence, in this study of the limits of corporate power, of a specific and precise definition of corporate power, although the meaning of the concept generally becomes apparent in the context of the work. This book is a significant contribution to the literature on the role of the large corporation in American society.

Michigan State University

JAMES H. SOLTOW

A. MITCHELL PALMER: POLITICIAN. By *Stanley Coben*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 351. \$7.50.)

SOUNDLY researched, meticulously documented, and clearly written, this work concentrates on Palmer's public life, devoting more than half the content to the Pennsylvania Democratic politician's career before he became Attorney General in 1919. Palmer won election to the House of Representatives in 1908 and was re-elected in 1910 and 1912, when he was important in bringing about Woodrow Wilson's nomination. Defeated for the Senate by Boies Penrose in 1914, Palmer was out of public office until President Wilson appointed him Alien Property Custodian in 1917, in which office he remained until he moved into the cabinet. The last five chapters describe his activities in the Department of Justice and his efforts to win the 1920 presidential nomination; the two of these on his highhanded treatment of aliens and radicals add considerable detail to the history of the politics of the postwar Red Scare.

Professor Coben's main thesis is that Palmer as Attorney General was a major danger to traditional liberties because he yielded to hysterical public opinion in the hope that he could ride the antiradical wave into the White House. The author argues this thesis persuasively; it fits and explains the facts. But the secondary thesis, that Palmer was a reformer with liberal or progressive principles until he got White House fever, is not so persuasive. Palmer does not emerge in these pages as a progressive. True, he opposed tariff protection, which was risky for a Pennsylvania politician, and sponsored an advanced child labor bill. But the author amply demonstrates that Palmer's "progressivism" was a stance taken for what he thought was political advantage. Palmer came out against child labor and for woman suffrage when he thought these positions would help him defeat Penrose in 1914. (Penrose, incidentally, agreed that the Pennsylvania political tide was toward progressivism and championed a graduated income tax, a wage-hours law for women and children, and higher taxes on trusts.) Palmer seems, on the basis of most of the evidence in this book, to have been far more of an opportunist than a principled progressive. The evidence suggests also that Palmer was not very astute as a political strategist. His strategy against Penrose failed miserably. It took him six years to get a cabinet appointment, which he wanted badly from 1912 onward, despite his role in getting Wilson nominated. During the Red Scare he at first postponed using vigorously the powers of the Department of Justice against radicals until several newspapers demanded his political scalp; then he led the repression, failing to recognize what was happening when the hysteria abated rapidly in the spring of 1920. In other words, instead of a progressive who turned sour, A. Mitchell Palmer was an opportunist who was not very clever.

University of Wisconsin

DAVID SHANNON

ALIENS AND DISSENTERS: FEDERAL SUPPRESSION OF RADICALS, 1903-1933. By *William Preston, Jr.* [Publication of the Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America, Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 352. \$6.75.)

THIS is an important book about an important theme that no scholar concerned with the freedom of man can ignore. For the right to dissent has long been recognized as a part of a rich American tradition, but it has also been a right that has been challenged and stifled. Those who have suffered most as a result have been foreigners and radical dissenters.

The author points out that the United States has an antidemocratic as well as a democratic tradition, which did not develop overnight. For years the federal policy makers and administrators saw a close relationship between aliens and radicals. Preston views the Red Scare of 1919-1920 as part of a pattern that antedated the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. The major difference is that World War I furnished the frenzied 100 per cent Americans with the necessary tools to move against aliens and radicals.

The account that Preston presents is hardly flattering to the much-publicized American concept of freedom and respect for the individual. Many innocent people have been rounded up, kept incommunicado, placed under heavy bail, and denied legal counsel until confessions were pried from them. The authority arrogated by the immigration officials unto themselves comes as no shock to the informed. But the frightening thing is that the screening process employed in the surveillance of immigrant arrivals and radicals now has been extended to include thousands of Americans who are employed by agencies other than the federal government and defense industries. And this indirectly has affected many who are fearful of adopting dissenting positions, lest they be branded as subversives.

Preston offers what to him, at least, appears to be a simple explanation of when the pendulum moved toward and away from the democratic tradition. Economic opportunity, social stability, and international security, as a rule, meant a benign attitude toward immigration and unrest; depression, social strife, and international tensions brought retaliation.

Preston concentrates on the IWW and the immigrants, because, in his opinion, the problems these two groups encountered were identical with those faced by the other dissident minorities. Had he included the Socialists, the conscientious objectors, the Nonpartisan Leaguers, and comparable groups, this would have complicated his research and organization problems and resulted in a bigger book. But it would have made clear the size of the dragnet that the federal authorities had put out for subversives, real and imaginary.

At times the text has a strong documentary flavor that makes for difficult reading. But this is understandable for the author has delved deeply into the files of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Department of Justice, the Pardon Office, and the Post Office Department, which most scholars realize are

hardly distinguished for their literary excellence. He also had access to the valuable American Civil Liberties Union collection, the papers of Frank P. Walsh, Woodrow Wilson, and members of his cabinet. The organization appears a bit unimaginative, and the book probably could have been made a bit livelier if people, as well as issues, had been given a more conspicuous role.

Still one cannot underestimate the contribution Preston has made. His study illuminates happenings during the first three decades of the twentieth century and focuses attention on an antidemocratic tradition that many complacent Americans tend to overlook. It promises to take its deserved place as a standard work in the history of civil rights.

University of California, Los Angeles

THEODORE SALOUTOS

THE INQUIRY: AMERICAN PREPARATIONS FOR PEACE, 1917-1919. By *Laurence E. Gelfand*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 387. \$8.75.)

In an unusually distinguished first book Professor Gelfand has told with clarity and wit all we need to know about that talented corps of scholars and publicists that compiled, under the tenuous supervision of Edward M. House, a series of studies on which Woodrow Wilson hoped to rely in drafting a just peace. Drawing upon the unexploited manuscript records of the Inquiry, as the body was called, upon the unpublished files of the State Department, upon the private papers of twenty-six individuals, upon a discriminating reading of printed materials, and upon his own correspondence with surviving members, he brings to life the ambitions, frustrations, dissensions, and achievements of the Inquiry from its formation in the autumn of 1917 until its absorption by the American Commission to Negotiate the Peace in January 1919. The author also tries to establish the exact contribution of the group to the subsequent decisions at Paris, but he leaves for a sequel volume the organization and operations of the commission as a whole during the peace conference.

Gelfand avoids the pitfall of claiming too much for the Inquiry. He also escapes the temptation to narrate the diplomacy of the period or to focus on the policy of the President. Concentrating on his subject, he deals in turn with the first suggestions for a body of experts, the recruitment of personnel, the difficulties of administration, the relation of the Inquiry to planning by the Allies and the formulation of the Fourteen Points, the transfer of the Inquiry to Paris, and finally to its influence upon specific territorial, economic, and international issues. A concluding chapter summarizes the findings a little repetitiously, a bibliography lists the sources, and ten appendixes reproduce statistical and textual data.

There was no precedent in American foreign policy for the Inquiry. Like all novel efforts, it suffered from uncertainty of purpose and inconstancy of support. Lacking congressional authorization, it depended initially on the President's discretionary fund for its meager salaries. Although the work sometimes duplicated

that of the State Department, there was less conflict or hostility than has often been assumed. The real weakness was the inability of American scholarship to meet the challenge of a global peace. True experts on parts of Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia just did not exist; all too frequently men learned in one field attempted to act as specialists in another. Yet in spite of these flaws, which the author does not minimize, the Inquiry did leave a mark on certain phases of the Versailles settlement.

This is a workmanlike volume on the diplomacy of the First World War by a young scholar who should make an even more valuable contribution to the history of the Paris Peace Conference. Although his subject may concern only a fraction of our guild, everyone can read with profit and amusement the difficulties faced forty-five years ago as men like Charles H. Haskins, Archibald Cary Coolidge, James T. Shotwell, Charles Seymour, Isaiah Bowman, and George Louis Beer—to name only a few—sought to place their learning at the service of their country.

Northwestern University

RICHARD W. LEOPOLD

STRATEGY AND COMMAND: THE FIRST TWO YEARS. By *Louis Morton*. [U.S. Army in World War II: The War in the Pacific.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1962. Pp. xxii, 761. \$10.25.)

HAVING edited the ten-volume subseries "The War in the Pacific" in the massive army history of World War II, Louis Morton here analyzes basic policy problems of strategy and command through December 1943. He seeks to clarify the fundamental course of the war in light of prewar preparations, conflicting Allied views, competing theater requirements, service differences over strategy and command, and the enemy's efforts. In this he has succeeded admirably, bringing to bear mastery of official files and a lucid style that keeps the main issues at the fore.

The book ably depicts how the planners shaped a new strategy after the attack that destroyed their original ORANGE plan to advance to the Philippines across the Central Pacific. In an amazingly short time, considering the scope of Japan's opening successes, the United States extended its defensive zone—the triangle formed by Alaska, Panama, and Hawaii—to include Australia and its lines of communications, and this at the nadir of our naval power. Gradually, this developed into the twin Solomons-New Guinea offensives aimed at Japan's inner defense perimeter. By 1943, with the 1940 construction program bearing fruit, the navy revived its plan to attack in the center, but now to obtain a foothold in China. Since MacArthur favored an Australian based thrust at the Philippines, the strategists decided to follow both routes to a target area of Luzon-Formosa-China coast.

Simple and logical as these concepts appear in retrospect, they emerged piecemeal from the welter of confusion that followed defeat in the novel context of

jungle, atoll, and carrier warfare. The Pacific theater, moreover, ranked well behind the Atlantic in priority, just as it had since the first RED-ORANGE plan of the early 1920's. However, Morton demonstrates how the theater's commanders and naval officials in Washington repeatedly championed Pacific requirements and actually achieved equality in the disposition of our combat forces in December 1943.

The key plans of the Japanese—against Hawaii and Midway, in the South Pacific, and the inner defense position—receive the respectful treatment they deserve. Admiral Yamamoto stands out as a brilliant strategist whose daring proposals to attack Hawaii, Midway, Australia, and American air power in the Solomons made him a most dangerous adversary who failed, particularly at Midway, because we could decipher Japanese messages.

One might challenge the author's criticism of Japan's Pearl Harbor attack plan or his emphasis on America's command difficulties. Perhaps more attention to Axis grand strategy would have served his purpose better. But on the whole, he clarifies the reasons and motivations underlying the strategic positions adopted. An extensive appendix, containing many vital planning documents published for the first time, itself constitutes an important contribution. We look forward with anticipation to the concluding capstone volume covering 1944 and 1945.

Williams College

FRED GREENE

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1962. By *Richard P. Stebbins*. (New York: Harper and Row for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1963. Pp. xi, 429. \$6.95.)

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1962. Edited by *Richard P. Stebbins*. With the assistance of *Elaine P. Adam*. (New York: Harper and Row for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1963. Pp. xxiv, 550. \$7.50.)

GENERAL comment upon the volumes for 1961 in these companion series (*AHR*, LXVIII [Jan. 1963], 492) applies also to their successors for 1962. Authors and editors are the same; organization is different only in that the new volumes have nine chapters each instead of the seven for 1961. "American Policy in Asia" gets two chapters instead of one, the first dealing with the Middle East and Southern Asia, the second with Southeast and East Asia. There is a new chapter on "America in the World Economy," covering such topics as the balance of payments problem, the Trade Expansion Act, and aid to the developing countries.

One naturally looks first for the treatment of the most dramatic episode of 1962, the planting and withdrawal of Russian missiles in Cuba. It is slightly annoying, though perhaps not easily avoidable, that the story of this crisis, as told in the narrative volume, should be set forth in separate sections of four different chapters, in which the emphasis is, respectively, on United States policy, on Soviet policy, on the attitude of the American republics, and on the role of the

United Nations. Added together, the four sections present an excellent account of the affair. President Kennedy's handling of the crisis after October 15 receives high praise, but the author has reservations as to the President's earlier complacency in the face of warnings of what was afoot in Cuba. A quotation from British Foreign Secretary Lord Home presents an interesting hypothesis as to the part that the missiles in Cuba were designed to play in Soviet policy. In contrast to the narrative volume, the volume of *Documents* brings all the material relative to the Cuban crisis together in the chapter on "Inter-American Affairs," where it occupies over forty pages.

Out of the gratifying diplomatic success in the Cuban crisis there arose, Mr. Stebbins suggests, a certain self-assurance on President Kennedy's part, exhibited in his background press briefing at Palm Beach, December 31, 1962, of which several excerpts are printed in the *Documents*. It was on this occasion that the President hinted that the United States government would thereafter pay less attention to winning popularity abroad and more to getting things done. It was here, too, that he justified the decision to abandon the production of Skybolt, the air-to-ground missile upon which the British had been depending to arm their independent nuclear force. This decision and the British acceptance, instead of Skybolt, of an offer of Polaris missiles to be mounted on submarines as part of a multilateral nuclear force had been announced from the conference at Nassau ten days earlier. The discussion of these decisions and of the similar offer to General de Gaulle (which the general was contemptuously to reject) comes at the close of a chapter entitled "One West or Two?" Though the chapter opens with a remark expressing satisfaction with the state of affairs in the Atlantic community, little reason for such satisfaction is given, apart from the successful development of the Common Market. Even here the reluctance of De Gaulle and Adenauer to admit Britain was already apparent, and De Gaulle's independent attitude toward America and Britain in NATO foreshadowed the double rebuff that he was to administer to the "Anglo Saxons" early in 1963. To the question posed in the chapter title, there was too much reason to fear that the answer would be "Two," and the sometimes insensitive attitude of the United States government to the sensibilities of friends and allies seemed to be contributing to such an outcome.

These samplings suggest the decidedly mixed character of the events of 1962 as portrayed in these useful volumes. Though there was reason for discouragement in the rift with France, the slow development of the Alliance for Progress, the intensification of Communist activity in South Vietnam, these reasons for gloom were partly balanced by the relaxation of pressure on Berlin, progress away from chaos in the Congo, and the Russian abandonment of the "troika" formula for the UN. The narrative account of the year's events is objective and readable, and the documents are well selected.

Williamsville, New York

JULIUS W. PRATT

THE UNITED STATES IN CUBA, 1898-1902: GENERALS, POLITICIANS, AND THE SEARCH FOR POLICY. By *David F. Healy*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 260. \$5.00.)

ALTHOUGH this book begins with a brief account of the causes of the Spanish-American War, it concentrates on the story of the intervention in Cuba in 1898 and the first American occupation of that island. The narrative ends in May 1902 when the Cubans took over the administration of their own government under President Tomás Estrada Palma.

In 1898 the United States went to war without a clearly defined policy for the future of Cuba, despite the self-denying commitment of the Teller Amendment. As a result, during the early occupation, generals, politicians, and civil servants urged different and often conflicting policies. "In default of a declared official policy for Cuba," the author points out, "everyone felt free to work out policies of his own." Nonetheless, out of this tangle of inconsistencies a plan for Cuba's future and its relationship to the United States, basically the terms of the Platt Amendment, gradually emerged. This is the theme of the book.

The War Department, not the State Department, had the most important part in the shaping of policy for and toward Cuba. In the early occupation a small group of senior officers who commanded the military departments and headed the staff of General John R. Brooke, the first American military governor of the island, grasped the initiative in the making of policy. Prominent in this group was General Leonard Wood, who became the second military governor. Later, Elihu Root, the Secretary of War, made many of the pivotal decisions. Businessmen, it is shown, had little direct influence on vital decisions, though they certainly had a part in obtaining passage of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1902, which assured a strong economic tie to Cuba. Political factors, and even sociological ones such as the racial prejudices of American policy makers, were more important in working out Cuba's status than were economic concerns.

According to the main thesis, Cuba and the Philippines served as twin laboratories where American policy makers applied two different approaches to the problem of expansion beyond the continent. In Cuba, the author asserts, circumstances prevented prompt annexation and allowed American leaders time to work out a system of indirect control that avoided the characteristics and burdens of traditional colonial rule. In the long run, at least for the first thirty years of the twentieth century, the United States chose the Cuban solution for general use. For example, the techniques in this system, it is claimed, were used to make the countries of the Caribbean virtual protectorates of the United States.

This far-reaching claim for policies that seem based more on *ad hoc* decisions than on any conscious plan for action is the only questionable generalization of any importance in this study, which shows that fine scholarship, even on a narrow subject, need not itself be narrow. The research is sound, based on a variety of sources used discriminatingly; the analysis is perceptive; the organization is well

conceived, making the narrative easy to follow; the prose is clear and free of jargon; and the conclusions and interpretations usually flow logically from the evidence and are intellectually sound. In short, this is an excellent first monograph, an illuminating historical analysis of what has come to be known as the policy-making process.

University of California, Santa Barbara

ALEXANDER DeCONDE

ZUMÁRRAGA AND THE MEXICAN INQUISITION, 1536–1543. By *Richard E. Greenleaf*. (Washington, D. C.: Academy of American Franciscan History. 1961. Pp. viii, 155. \$6.50.)

In this thorough study, based primarily on manuscript materials in the *Archivo General de la Nación* in Mexico City, the author provides us with an authoritative analysis of the activities of Juan de Zumárraga, first bishop and archbishop of Mexico, as apostolic inquisitor from 1536 to 1543. In addition, he provides a lucid brief account of the episcopal Inquisition in Mexico before Zumárraga became inquisitor and from the time he ceased exercise of that office until the establishment of the permanent Tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition in 1571.

He perceptively analyzes Zumárraga's intellectual background, thought, and motivations, as well as his interpretation of his mission, factors that supply the key to an understanding of his actions as inquisitor. As an essential complement of his portrayal of Zumárraga's characteristics, he describes with insight the intellectual climate among the Spaniards in Mexico and the conflict between humanism and orthodoxy as related to the application of the episcopal Inquisition to the Indians.

Two chapters are devoted to the Inquisition and the Indians and Zumárraga's efforts to solve the perplexing problem of the persistence of idolatry and the complex of religious practices carried forward among the Indians from their pre-conquest cults. Other chapters treat action against proscribed beliefs and practices among the colonists, Lutheranism and other heresy, Hebrew practices, sorcery, and blasphemy, and deal with efforts toward general enforcement of morality.

In treating these specific topics, the author employs a judicious balance of specific case histories and synthesis. He points out that the important case of the trial and condemnation in 1539 of Don Carlos of Texcoco, grandson of Netzahualcōyotl, for being a heretical dogmatizer, followed by his execution, action for which Zumárraga was reprimanded, gave impetus to the movement for exemption of the Indians from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition.

The author finds that Zumárraga's administration of the Inquisition accurately reflected the climate of sixteenth-century Mexico but also that the total effect of the Inquisition on Mexican society of that period is difficult to judge. Zumárraga himself, the author concludes, is one of the truly great men of the early colony: he and his fellow churchman Vasco de Quiroga as the spiritual conquerors, Cortés

and Nuño de Guzmán as the military conquerors, and Antonio de Mendoza as the organizer of civil administration.

Alexandria, Virginia

ROBERT S. CHAMBERLAIN

EL CABILDO METROPOLITANO DE CARACAS Y LA GUERRA DE EMANCIPACIÓN: EXTRACTOS DEL ARCHIVO CAPITULAR. Compiled by *Nicolás Eugenio Navarro*. [Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de la Historia, Number 34.] (Caracas: the Academia. 1960. Pp. 472.)

EPISTOLARIO DE LA PRIMERA REPÚBLICA. In two volumes. Preliminary study by the Fundación John Boulton. [Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de la Historia, Numbers 35 and 36.] (Caracas: the Academia. 1960. Pp. 257; 446.)

TESTIMONIOS DE LA ÉPOCA EMANCIPADORA. Preliminary study by *Arturo Uslar Pietri*. [Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de la Historia, Number 37.] (Caracas: the Academia. 1961. Pp. xxxvii, 529.)

RECUERDOS SOBRE LA REBELIÓN DE CARACAS. By *José Domingo Díaz*. Preliminary study and notes by *Ángel Francisco Brice*. [Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de la Historia, Number 38.] (Caracas: the Academia. 1961. Pp. 600.)

LA INDEPENDENCIA DE VENEZUELA ANTE LAS CANCELLERÍAS EUROPEAS. By *Floraligia Giménez Silva*. [Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de la Historia, Number 39.] (Caracas: the Academia. 1961. Pp. 408.)

EL PENSAMIENTO CONSTITUCIONAL HISPANOAMERICANO HASTA 1830: COMPILACIÓN DE CONSTITUCIONES SANCIONADAS Y PROYECTOS CONSTITUCIONALES. Volume I, ARGENTINA—BOLIVIA—BRASIL—CENTRO AMÉRICA—COLOMBIA; Volume II, COLOMBIA (CONTINUACIÓN)—COSTA RICA—CUBA—CHILE; Volume III, ECUADOR—GUATEMALA—HAITI—HONDURAS—MÉXICO—NICARAGUA—NUEVA GRANADA; Volume IV, NUEVA GRANADA (CONTINUACIÓN)—PARAGUAY—PERÚ—SANTO DOMINGO—URUGUAY; Volume V, VENEZUELA—CONSTITUCIÓN DE CÁDIZ. [Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de la Historia, Numbers 40–44.] (Caracas: the Academia. 1961. Pp. 431; 594; 484; 388; 395.)

THESE eleven volumes conclude the series issued by the Venezuelan National Academy of History to commemorate the sesquicentennial of that country's independence movement. A review of the previous thirteen volumes appeared earlier (*AHR*, LXVII [July 1962], 1079).

The records of the Caracas cathedral chapter from 1810 to 1840, both in the form of minutes of its meetings and of miscellaneous chapter papers—a prime source for ecclesiastical, economic, and social-political history—were judiciously selected and edited as *El Cabildo Metropolitano de Caracas . . .* by the late Monsignor Nicolás Eugenio Navarro. The dignified and solemn clerical language in which most of this collection was written does not disguise the dismayed horror

of the churchmen who witnessed the destruction of colonial Venezuela and of its Creole aristocracy during the course of the bitterly waged emancipation struggle.

The *Epistolario de la Primera República* consists of two volumes containing 239 letters of patriot leaders and lesser figures of the first Venezuelan Republic (1811-1812). Although most have been previously published, nearly all are of considerable substantive or biographical interest. This is a corpus of correspondence that does much to present the reader with a grasp of the social and political atmosphere of that stillborn Republic. The 16 letters by the ideologue Juan Germán Roscio (1763-1821) of Caracas to a fellow patriot in Bogotá, Domingo González, during 1811-1812, here printed for the first time by their discoverer, Professor Pérez Vila, the *Epistolario's* editor, are unusually good.

An excellent introduction by Arturo Uslar Pietri precedes *Testimonios de la época emancipadora*, a compilation of newspapers, imprints, and other public documents that were issued by the provincial juntas of the first Venezuelan Republic. The naïve effervescence of the provincial idealists of 1811 and 1812, their faith in natural rights, the goodness of man, the inevitable destruction of tyranny, and the justice of their cause are made clear through these papers. The volume is of prime historical value for students of the development of political ideas and public administration in the rebellious Venezuelan provinces at the dawn of independence.

José Domingo Díaz' *Recuerdos sobre la rebelión de Caracas* first appeared in Madrid in 1829. Its author, a foundling born in Caracas (about 1770), was educated as a physician there and served the crown in that capacity for several years prior to 1810. The outbreak of the independence movement saw Díaz leave medicine and embrace journalism and administrative service in the Spanish forces fighting against the Venezuelan cause. Díaz chose exile rather than remain in a Venezuela no longer dominated by Spain. He died, probably in Madrid, about 1835. His work, which discusses Venezuela from 1810 to 1828, is a virulent indictment of the patriot leadership, especially Bolívar, and a vehement defense of the Spanish efforts to retain its rebellious colony. Hardly dispassionate, Díaz' book is still a major source for the understanding of the royalist mind and policies. This second edition is equipped with a good index, explanatory and corrective footnotes, and a preface by its editor, Ángel Francisco Brice.

Floraligia Giménez Silva's *La independencia de Venezuela ante las cancillerías europeas* is a monograph (originally a doctoral thesis at the University of Madrid) that studies the attempts of Spanish-American diplomacy generally, and Venezuela's in particular, to win recognition and support from the leading European powers (England, France, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and the papacy) from 1810 to 1824. Drawing most of her information from the *Archivo Nacional* in Madrid, the author has produced a work that permits a valuable insight into the attempts of the other European governments to form policy toward the new nations in the face of Spain's implacable refusal to recognize their sovereignty.

The final five volumes of the series contain the texts of constitutions, drafts of constitutions, and constitutional proposals, seventy-eight in number, prepared by

all the Latin American nations (or by men acting in their names). The set starts with Francisco de Miranda's *Equisse de Gouvernement Provisoire* (prepared by the precursor in London, and dated May 2, 1801) and continues through the constitution adopted by Venezuela at Valencia, September 24, 1830. Added to the final volume as an appendix is the Constitution of Cádiz, promulgated on March 18, 1812. This charter, aside from its profound influence on Latin American constitutional thought, was itself sanctioned by a constituent assembly nearly a third of whom were Spanish Americans. The publication, in a single anthology, of the constitutional expression of all the Latin American nations, from the inception of independence to its achievement by 1830, forms a fitting capstone to Venezuela's great multitomed tribute to the founders of its nationality.

Vanderbilt University

LEÓN HELGUERA

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

BOOKS

General

HISTORICAL PERIODICALS: AN ANNOTATED WORLD LIST OF HISTORICAL AND RELATED SERIAL PUBLICATIONS. Edited by *Eric H. Boehm* and *Lalit Adolphus*. (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Clio Press. 1961. Pp. xviii, 618. \$27.50.) Historians have long had reason to envy their colleagues in other disciplines, such as chemistry, who have had readily available abstracts of articles published in scholarly periodicals throughout the world, although we may be relieved that we are spared having to cope with such Niagaras of publication as threaten to overwhelm them. Our nearest approach has been the annual volumes of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences*, for which Mrs. Jean Joughin has in recent years furnished the items published in the United States. During the past decade Mr. Eric H. Boehm, with the devoted help of assistants throughout the world, has been valiantly attempting to make a part of such material more promptly available in his quarterly *Historical Abstracts, 1775-1945: Bibliography of the World's Periodical Literature* (summaries in English of articles), with annual indexes. One cannot but feel that this project needs a more generous and systematic support by the organized international historical community. The present list is the fruit of this enterprise. To give it adequate review would require the combined efforts of all the section editors of the *AHR*. A run-through of the volume suggests that few of historical significance have been omitted. The 650 periodicals listed for the United States constitute about twice the number that I have found necessary for the listings in the *AHR*, including many genealogical, hobby and collecting, and purely local periodicals—doing thereby little or no harm. More regrettable is the omission of a number of periodicals that frequently contain contributions of substance and significance. These include *American Documentation*, the *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* (although its *Proceedings* is listed), *Delaware Notes*, the *Publications of the East Tennessee Historical Society*, the *Journal of Farm Economics*, the *Mississippi Quarterly*, and the *Southern Speech Journal*. But in spite of any omissions or excesses this is a publication that deserves our gratitude.

George Washington University

WOOD GRAY

LA HISTORIA Y EL FUTURO. By *Víctor Sanz*. (Montevideo: Universidad de la República, Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias. 1962. Pp. 292.) Dedicated by the author to his country, Uruguay, "which permitted me to get this far," this book is a revision of a thesis presented in 1959 to the *Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* of the *Universidad de la República* of Uruguay. The title of the original dissertation was "Prediction and Orientation of the Politico-Social Future in the Light of Historical Knowledge." From the beginning the author admits not having exhausted his topic which, apart from the attempt he has made, is really inexhaustible. It is refreshing at least to hear that a dissertation is not a "definitive study." It is therefore, according to the author, simply a personal and present-day view of the theme. He also rejects any pretensions to originality except in so far as he has not blindly followed other thinkers' footsteps. The originality of the work, if there is any originality about it, he confesses, lies in having come to cer-

tain conclusions and concepts by himself and in having assimilated and systematized from his own viewpoint a series of questions focused separately and in many different works with different viewpoints. Although other minor examples of continuity and repetition in history are mentioned, slavery and its abolition are the topics given major consideration, with special reference to the United States, Brazil, and Cuba. Here people learned from history, or did they? One gets the feeling that the author did not make the most of his prodigious study of slavery through the ages. Is this because in itself this is too big a project, as the author himself admits? This work is rather an exercise in mulling over ideas which in themselves are frequently vague. For the person interested in the philosophy of history it may have some value. It evidences consultation of scores of writers in the field, including the ubiquitous Ortega y Gasset, Dilthey, Croce, Jaspers, Weber, Vico, and others so dear to the hearts of Latin American historians. Yet after reading it I felt that really no conclusions were reached unless they are that such a study applied to war might, if not end war completely, mitigate the dangers that lead to it, and if the perfect life cannot be attained, we may at least come closer to it and better the present life by studying history and applying it to the future.

University of Colorado

Fritz L. Hoffmann

AMERIKA IM ENGLISCHEN SCHRIFTTUM DES 16. UND 17. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Gustav H. Blanke*. [Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, Number 46.] (Bochum-Langendreer: Verlag Heinrich Pöppinghaus. 1962. Pp. 348.) This book, more ambitiously conceived than any comparable work in English, argues that the exploration and settlement of America had surprisingly small imaginative and psychological impact on Englishmen around 1560–1700. Blanke uses forty-five early maps of America to illustrate the casual English geographical picture. Maps of the 1580's pretty accurately established the massive proportions of both continents, yet a cartographer in 1651 could still put the South Sea a few miles inland from Jamestown, while Dryden confused Mexico with Peru, and Aphra Behn pictured the Amazon as "almost as broad as the River of Thames." The Northwest Passage excited far more curiosity than the trans-Appalachian hinterland. Erroneous labels like "Indies" and "Indian" were adopted immediately and never challenged, while place names like "Virginia" or "Norumbega" were carelessly applied to any or all parts of the Atlantic coast. Quoting widely (though by no means exhaustively) from English poets and playwrights, Blanke contends that their image of the New World was not based on experience but on preconceived classical or Biblical symbols. Thus America must either be an earthly paradise or a howling wilderness, a golden El Dorado or a seat of the muses. The native Indians were stereotyped in similar clichés, as nature's noblemen or beastly cannibals. Restoration literary references to America became even more superficial and hackneyed than Elizabethan ones. Blanke ignores the fact that contemporaneous reports on America were mostly highly partisan, either written by propagandists trying to sell new colonies or by critics condemning the pattern of settlement. A simplistic black or white picture was hard to avoid. Blanke also makes no distinction between Englishmen at home and in America, thus missing an important developing transatlantic difference in attitude. But Blanke's general thesis is undoubtedly correct, and it is salutary to be reminded that for many years most Englishmen were indifferent to the New World and found America by no means man's last best hope.

University of Pennsylvania

Richard S. Dunn

LE DÉCLIN DE LA PREMIÈRE INTERNATIONALE: LA CONFÉRENCE DE LONDRES DE 1871. By *Miklós Molnár*. [Publications de l'Institut Universitaire de Hautes Études Internationales, Number 42.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1963. Pp. 258.)

In this excellent study of the setting, meeting, and repercussions of the London Conference of 1871 of the First International, attention is focused primarily on the problem of the decline of the organization. The author does not reject the factors usually cited as crucial: the international vacuum created by the defeat of the French proletariat in the Commune, the failure of the German SD's to fill the vacuum, the heightened nationalism everywhere, and the new political rights and opportunities won by the proletariat. What is stressed, however, is the role of sectarianism within rather than conditions without. The First International, ostensibly proletarian, is shown to be dominated by older utopian, even "precapitalist," currents thought to have been defeated: Mazzinian, Proudhonian, Positivist, Blanquist, and anarchist. The persistence of these currents is held responsible for the successes within the organization of the antiauthoritarian and antiétatist Bakunin. Though Marx succeeded in having Bakunin and the anarchists expelled from the International, continued unity was possible only in a loose organization. Marxian dogmatism and centralization made this impossible. Other times, other conditions were necessary. The study is seriously documented; it contains an ample appendix of memoranda, minutes, newspaper accounts, and letters of value and interest. The bibliography is possibly the most comprehensive yet published.

Roosevelt University

JACK J. ROTH

CONFLICT: THE HISTORY OF THE KOREAN WAR, 1950-53. By *Robert Leckie*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1962. Pp. 448. \$6.95.) The Korean War was expensive, tragic, and often unpopular. The word "frustrating" is often used to describe it, although the United Nations forces did achieve their initial goal. This was not the total victory and unification of Korea that was hoped for after General MacArthur's brilliant success at Inchon. The initial goal was rather to halt and turn back the tide of Communist aggression that threatened to engulf the republic of Korea. Attainment of this goal by the United Nations forces, which were principally those of the United States, handed international Communism its first major setback in Asia in the grim years following World War II. The unpopularity of the Korean War during 1950-1953 is ironically not matched by its current popularity in historical literature. To the recent gush of Korean War books Mr. Leckie, author of an earlier work on the First Marine Division's fighting withdrawal from the Changjin (or Chosin) Reservoir in North Korea, has added the present volume. *Conflict* covers the entire period of the war and includes the protracted truce negotiations at Kaesong and Panmunjom. Leckie has attempted no archival research. His book is based on the long list of printed material on the Korean War, especially the official histories published to date by the US Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force. He gives major emphasis to the first six months of combat: the North Korean drive to the Naktong, the defense of the Pusan perimeter, the Inchon landing and subsequent drive to the Yalu, the Chinese intervention, and the withdrawal of the United Nations forces to the vicinity of the thirty-eighth parallel. Some of the major actions of 1951—Chipyong-ni, Wonju, Bloody Ridge, and the Punch-bowl—receive only perfunctory mention. The gallant and sacrificial stand of the Gloucestershire battalion at the Imjin River goes unnoticed. But with its lively style, shrewd insights, and general accuracy, *Conflict* is a useful one-volume popular history of an unpopular war.

Department of the Army

JOHN MILLER, JR.

Ancient and Medieval

THE KING IS DEAD: STUDIES IN THE NEAR EASTERN RESISTANCE TO HELLENISM, 334-31 B. C. By *Samuel K. Eddy*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska

Press. 1961. Pp. x, 390. \$8.50.) The author sets out to investigate why and how the Egyptian and Asiatic segments of Alexander's Empire opposed Hellenism between 334 and 31 B.C. Special treatment is devoted to the various areas, notably Iran, Anatolia, Judaea, and Egypt. Certain nations combated Hellenism, while others did not. Dr. Eddy shows that by and large only those nations which had a tradition of independence and the hope of regaining it resisted Hellenism. The religious thread in the fabric of resistance is stressed. The three nations that put up the best fights were Persis, Judaea, and Egypt, where the resistance stemmed from messianic hope. The author, to be sure, also reckons with the secular factors: economic and social. The Near Eastern areas that benefited from the establishment of Greek cities were not anti-Hellenic. Eddy shows that anti-Hellenism in areas without Greek cities was in part owing to the absence of Greek *poleis*. The subject is quite complex, but it may be said "in the final analysis Oriental resistance was an effort to maintain a native way of life whose continuity was threatened by Hellenism." This book is richly documented from primary and secondary sources. It is a mine of erudition. A more concise and streamlined presentation would have enabled the author to state his case more lucidly.

Brandeis University

C. H. GORDON

ROMS KRIEGE IN SPANIEN, 154-133 V. CHR. By *Helmut Simon*. [Frankfurter wissenschaftliche Beiträge, kulturwissenschaftliche Reihe, Number 11.] (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann. 1962. Pp. 204. DM 18.) This study presents the portion of a detailed analysis of the sources and the events of the Roman wars in Spain, which the author was able to complete before his death at the age of thirty-two, and is published with a preface by Professor Hermann Strasburger of Frankfurt. The Lusitanian and the Celtiberian wars, particularly those with Viriathus and with Numantia, are presented episode by episode. The strength of the work results from the special clarity of the chronological analysis and from the way in which both the development of issues in Rome and the interconnections of these simultaneous wars in adjacent provinces are kept continuously before the reader at each stage. The author has also made some sensible adjustments in the lists of governors, notably in regard to Quinctius (143) and Metellus Calvus (142) in Hispania Ulterior, while removing Pompeius Rufus from his supposed command in this province, but he makes no mention of the view that in this period Spanish governors in general received a consular imperium (see the supplement to Broughton, *Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, 3 f., with references to Professor W. Jashemski's study of the proconsular imperium). This useful study has brought a further measure of order into defective and greatly worked over material.

Bryn Mawr College

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

POMPEY, HIS FRIENDS, AND THE LITERATURE OF THE FIRST CENTURY B. C. By *William S. Anderson*. [University of California Publications in Classical Philology, Volume XIX, Number 1.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1963. Pp. 87. \$2.00.) The purpose of this brief but closely reasoned work is to answer two questions in particular concerning the career of Pompey that historians have largely neglected. One of these questions considers the nature, function, and importance of Pompey's circle of literary friends. In order to place his discussion of this question in its proper perspective, the author has thoroughly examined the reasons for Pompey's failure to develop his political *amicitia*. Even though his first circle of friends disintegrated, Pompey still had another group of friends upon whom he could rely. This second and more important group consisted of his confidential friends. Their lack of political importance has caused historians largely to ignore them. This group of Pompey's intimate friends included, besides four freedmen, a number of persons of

equestrian rank and one of distinguished Greek origin. In spite of their lack of political reputation they had some insight into Roman political traditions derived from their historical pursuits. Loyal to Pompey, each rendered him some particular service. The final problem concerns Pompey's influence on the culture of Rome itself. This is a significant question, and its answer goes a long way toward explaining Pompey's concept of his own role in the contemporary political scene. After having solved a multitude of subordinate issues relative to the two major questions, the author comes to a number of conclusions. His most comprehensive conclusion makes clear that Pompey himself introduced "the Hellenistic conception of the *φίλοι* into Rome more effectively than anyone yet had done."

University of South Carolina

RICHARD H. CHOWEN

BRITANNIA: THE ROMAN CONQUEST AND OCCUPATION OF BRITAIN. By *George Patrick Welch*. (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 282. \$6.95.) This is an attractive book, "intended for the general reader," and amply fulfilling its modest purpose of putting together the slender and largely casual evidence from classical literary sources and the discoveries of modern British archaeology. The author, a lay historian and an American, brings to the interpretation of the materials and to the narrative the experience of a story writer and of a soldier. He has, besides, close familiarity with Britain's topography and the Roman military sites. The result is a lively and illuminating description of military affairs, which dominate his interest as they do the available evidence. He is critical, even skeptical, in his use of ancient historians, giving special attention to Caesar and Tacitus, and in the identification of places, legions, and persons. His frankly and imaginatively conjectural reconstruction of situations and events gives vividness and plausibility to the behavior of soldiers and administrators, as in the account of the invasion of Kent in A.D. 43, though such colorful fiction as the personal action of Vespasian in the fording of the Medway is unnecessary and may shake the reader's confidence in the author. This is true also of occasional lapses into witticism. Yet loss of confidence would be unfair to him. There is little specific documentation, but the bibliography is a valuable introduction to further reading. The text is well illustrated by maps and photographs. What fascinates Colonel Welch and therefore will hold the attention of the historically-minded reader is the Roman conquest, its expansion and maintenance for nearly four centuries. This story gets under way late in Chapter III, and I recommend especially the accounts of the Great Revolt (Chapter V) and of Hadrian's frontier and its modifications (Chapter VIII). The alternation of disaster and revival and the final isolation of Britain in the fifth century are well linked with imperial rivalries and Germanic invasions on the Continent. The explanation is overly simple, as is the paradoxical conclusion that "scarcely a trace" of Roman civilization remained in Britain except "racial memory." The basis for the exception seems to be the author's idealization of Rome as the source of a civilized order under law and arms represented in the modern world by England and America. Such evidence as there may be in recent archaeological studies of Saxon migrations for some mingling of cultural elements he neglects. His major concern, however, is with the process of the Romanization of the Britons rather than with its ultimate consequences and with its military rather than its socioeconomic and cultural aspects. He does a good job of describing the struggle for Pax Romana in an obscure province on the periphery of the Empire.

Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation R. F. ARRAGON

LAW-FINDERS AND LAW-MAKERS IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND: COLLECTED STUDIES IN LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY. By *Helen Cam*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1963. Pp. 240. \$6.50.) This welcome volume collects and re-

prints twelve articles and papers that were published or read by the author between 1943 and 1961. Their common theme, suggested by the title, is spelled out in a deft introductory sketch of "The Rule of Law in English History," and the concluding essay is her memorable appraisal of F. W. Maitland, "the historians' historian." In several of the older articles, Professor Cam has provided additional footnote references to more recent literature. It is regrettable that a higher than usual number of typographical errors survived the final proofreading, but otherwise the volume is well produced. Together with her *Liberties & Communities*, most of Cam's articles and papers are now available in hard covers.

University of Minnesota

ROBERT S. HOYT

CRIMINAL ASYLUM IN ANGLO-SAXON LAW. By *Charles H. Riggs, Jr.* [University of Florida Monographs, Social Sciences, Number 18.] (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1963. Pp. 61. \$2.00.) In the first chapter of his doctoral dissertation at Columbia University on the medieval institution of asylum, Mr. Riggs surveyed the historical background of the practice of fleeing for asylum to churches and monasteries. Most of that first chapter is published in this detailed and scholarly monograph. Riggs examines in the three parts of his essay ("The Laws of Ine," "The Laws of Alfred," "Aethelstan to Canute") the Anglo-Saxon institution of asylum and the legal procedures connected with it. It is hoped that he will soon publish the part of his dissertation that analyzes abjuration cases in the Assize Rolls.

Wayne State University

GOLDWIN SMITH

AN INTRODUCTION TO DOMESDAY BOOK. By *R. Welldon Finn.* (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1963. Pp. xiv, 306. \$5.00.) Welldon Finn's new book repeats, with unimportant exception, all the information contained in his recently published *The Domesday Inquest* (1961). One entire chapter, "The Making of Domesday Book," is reprinted practically verbatim from the earlier book, and its other chapters reappear here in paraphrased, rearranged, or expanded versions. One naturally wonders why *The Domesday Inquest*, so soon to be superseded, was published. There is considerable additional information in this new book, however. Conveniently classified under such headings as "The Hide, the Ploughland, and the Plough-Team," "The Peasantry," "The Lower Middle Classes," "The Towns and Their Inhabitants," and "The Appurtenances of the Manor," are useful and comprehensive collections of data. Equally valuable are the author's judgments on the reliability of Domesday Book evidence and his monitions regarding its interpretation. It is chastening, if disheartening, to learn that manor "is virtually incapable of definition"; "it is improbable that *villa* had any precise meaning"; "DB tells us practically nothing" about borough inhabitants; information about churches "is obviously incomplete and unsatisfying"; Domesday Book money values "must often be deceptive." Finn also offers solutions to several problems of Domesday Book study. His differentiation between "fiscal demesne" and "manorial demesne," for example, apparently explains the discrepancy between geld and inquest figures for land in *dominio*. Also his argument in favor of a geld in both 1083-1084 and 1085-1086 must either complicate or obviate the current discussion of that question. Finn affirms even more explicitly the novel thesis of his earlier book, that the Great Domesday text was written in the provinces while the inquest was in process. The argument has some plausibility, but Professor Galbraith (in his new book, *The Making of Domesday Book*) disposes of some of the textual difficulties that prompted Finn to his conclusion. Finn's case, of course, depends upon admitting multiple scribes for the *breves* that make up Great Domesday. But the authors of *Domesday Re-Bound* insist on the identity of the hand, and Galbraith concurs after much "brooding" on the script.

Further paleographical analysis is clearly a *sine qua non*. Finn's argument for provincial composition, however, apparently derives less from the putative differences in script than from his disbelief that one person could have done the work. "We can hardly visualise a single clerk writing the Exchequer Domesday with a maximum of 240 days—and probably very much less—in which to perform his task." It should be noted, however, that the time available need not be limited by the Conqueror's departure from England, as Finn assumes. If the "writings" brought to the King before he left were simply fair copies of the circuit returns, such as we perhaps have in Little Domesday, then William's death in September of the following year becomes the probable *terminus ad quem* for the final drafting of the Great Domesday text. After all, no one knew when William left England late in 1086 that he would not return.

Illinois State University

DEAN WARE

TWELFTH-CENTURY DECRETAL COLLECTIONS AND THEIR IMPORTANCE IN ENGLISH HISTORY. By *Charles Duggan*. [University of London Historical Studies, Number 12.] (London: University of London, the Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1963. Pp. xiv, 220. \$7.20.) This volume consists of five well-documented chapters detailing Mr. Duggan's investigations; four appendixes analyzing the Worcester II, Belvoir, Canterbury, and Rochester collections, followed by three appendixes collating a number of collections; eight fine plates; an extensive bibliography; and a very useful index. The plates are of special interest not only for this particular study but also for paleographical consideration. The author set for himself the threefold task of fixing the decretals and decretal collections in their historical settings, of providing a general survey of all manuscript resources, and of assessing the historical importance of the English collections. The first and second he has accomplished admirably, the third, not quite so satisfactorily. Although he takes issue with some of the research of F. W. Maitland and Z. N. Brooke, he nonetheless shows how his new discoveries generally confirm the conclusions of the earlier scholars. He has clearly demonstrated that England took the lead in assembling the primitive decretal collections and in turn strongly influenced the continental compilers. Although the continental canonists ultimately outstripped the English, the trace of English development was never forgotten in later arrangements prepared far from the island. It is conceivable that a person with very little previous background in juristic science could read this book with appreciation and understanding so well has Duggan defined and moved from point to point. This is to say that the study still bears the mark of the doctoral thesis upon it. It is by no means light reading. There are very few light touches in it, but it is a product not only to be read, but also to be "marked, learned, and inwardly digested." It is an eminently worthy addition to the "University of London Historical Studies." The format and printing are excellent, and typographical errors are virtually nonexistent.

University of Mississippi

ALLEN CABANISS

ISSLEDOVANIIA PO ISTORII ANGLIISKOGO FEODALIZMA V XI-XIII VV. [Studies in the History of English Feudalism in the 11th to 13th Century]. By *M. A. Barg*. (Moscow: USSR Academy of Sciences Press. 1962. Pp. 377.) This is a book in the tradition of Soviet agrarian history best represented in English by the studies of the late E. A. Kosminsky. The idea for the work originated some eighteen years ago, according to the author, from talks with Kosminsky. Barg seeks to go beyond Kosminsky's somewhat static picture of the thirteenth-century English countryside to investigate the prior evolution that produced it. Specifically, the chronological limits of his study are 1086 and 1279, the dates of the Domesday Book and the Hundred Rolls, respectively,

his two principal sources. The area he considers is approximately five counties of the English Midlands. His method is chiefly a rigorously statistical comparison of Domesday and the Hundred Rolls. The book contains thirty-eight large numbered tables and numerous small ones, most of which are highly elaborate in their construction. Not all his statistical comparisons seem equally well founded, but all are conscientiously done and deserve the attention of agrarian historians. Certainly his conclusions are noteworthy. In five chapters he studies the changes in the property holdings of the principal English classes: the feudal nobility, the freeholders, and the serfs. Between 1086 and 1279, Barg detects a marked disintegration of large estates, both royal and seignorial; only ecclesiastical manors grew significantly. In place of large holdings small manors proliferated, and many were hardly sufficient in size to support their lords in the manner of knights. "In the beginning of the fourteenth century," concludes Barg, "the whole military-knightly structure of English landownership was breaking down." Simultaneously, freehold tenancies, mostly post-Conquest in origin, were being extended outside the manor. Among the serfs, too, the dominant trend was a proliferation of dwarf plots, as the typical holding of the villein fell in size between 1086 and 1279 by three times. The interpretation Barg lays upon these events is unflinchingly Marxist. Relations within the upper classes were characterized by a "battle for rent," and the serfs were subjected to an ever more ruthless exploitation. Barg explains the proliferation of tiny serf holdings as a device on the part of the lords to raise rents. The lords were handicapped in raising the rent of individual tenancies because of manorial custom (though we are also told that manorial custom could put no effective brake on seignorial greed). They therefore craftily resorted to multiplying the number of servile holdings while maintaining the traditional dues for each. But did not population growth or changes in settlement play a role in the increase both of small manors and small servile holdings? Such factors are mentioned only to be dismissed as inconsequential in comparison with the momentous realities of the class struggle. Other factors, too—changes in the intensity of cultivation, in agricultural technology, or in prices—are hardly noted, though they seem of obvious relevance to many of the problems he considers. Barg's tenaciously held conviction that class oppression was the prime moving force in English agricultural history has unfortunately served to curtail his vision. Still, what he says is often illuminating, and his book deserves an early translation into English.

Bryn Mawr College

DAVID HERLIHY

THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS IN ENGLAND. By *Thomas W. Parker*. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1963. Pp. 195. \$5.00.) In spite of Professor Parker's disclaimer, the collective portrait of the Knights of the Temple of Solomon of Jerusalem that emerges from this study differs in no major respect from Sir Walter Scott's delineation of Brian de Bois Gilbert in the pages of *Ivanhoe*. The order was arrogant, haughty, jealous of its privileges, and, above all, materialistic. Parker has written what may be described as a preliminary survey of the history of the Templars in England. By his own admission, much manuscript material remains to be studied before a definitive account of the English province of the order can be written. However, valuable information concerning the political, economic, and financial activities of the English Templars is presented in orderly fashion for the first time. Without doubt the resources of the order were used to a large extent to strengthen Templar military capabilities in the Near East, although to what extent is not made clear, but military matters as such seldom find their way into the pages of this book. Some errors of omission and commission are noted that might have easily been avoided. For example, no mention is made of the existence of the Old Temple in London as early as 1144 (*Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, 332; *Monasticon Anglicanum*, IV, 1012), and Geoffrey fitz Stephen

was still Master of the Temple in England in 1190 when he witnessed a charter involving lands of the order in Lincolnshire (*Danelaw Charters*, 380). Although his style is frequently cumbersome and lacking in clarity, Parker has begun to fill a gap in our knowledge of the provincial organization and activities of one of the most important of the crusading orders. The bibliography is extensive and useful, but a map locating the preceptories of the English province would, perhaps, have prevented some of the discrepancy between the text and the appendix. The University of Arizona Press might well have forgone the elaborate art work and used the savings to print the footnotes with the text.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro

JOHN BEELER

A HISTORY OF ACADEMICAL DRESS IN EUROPE UNTIL THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *W. N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963. Pp. xiii, 235. \$7.20.) This book is a meticulously detailed account of the origins and development of academic costume in Western Europe. The work terminates with the end of the eighteenth century because, after this, artificial adaptations in dress were introduced, and the continuity of the medieval university tradition was broken. The book is well arranged for ready consultation, with chapters oriented geographically, and subsections clearly differentiated under conspicuous headings. There are a useful index, a glossary with sketches, and a series of illustrations from relevant contemporary sources. These illustrations, like the bibliography and footnotes, display the author's industry and resourcefulness in searching out material from university archives and histories written in many languages, and from church brasses, portraits, university seals, and stained glass windows. This work is the most recent and probably the best book in its field.

Madeira School

MILLCENT B. REX

CATALOGUE DES MANUSCRITS EN ÉCRITURE LATINE PORTANT DES INDICATIONS DE DATE, DE LIEU OU DE COPISTE. By *Charles Samaran* and *Robert Marichal*. Volume II, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, FONDS LATIN (NOS. 1 À 8.000). In two parts. Under the direction of *Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny*. [Comité International de Paléographie.] (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1962. Pp. xix, 595; 210 plates. 120 fr.) The first volume of this catalogue was published in 1959, but was not reviewed in the *AHR*. It covered manuscripts in the *Musée Condé* at Chantilly and in Paris libraries other than the Bibliothèque Nationale. The project was launched in 1953 by the *Comité International de Paléographie*, and the discussion of the first volume by the *Comité* at its June 1960 meeting was reported in full in *Scriptorium*, XV (No. 2, 1961), 285. The aim of the catalogue is to provide a description and illustration of all dated Latin manuscripts, and all those of known provenance and scribe, up to 1600. Planned somewhat along the lines of Lowe's catalogue of Latin manuscripts written before 900, it differs in providing only catalogue descriptions of the manuscripts included, without Lowe's invaluable paleographic comment. Each volume is supplied in two parts: descriptive text (printed on one side of the paper, so that it can be cut up and mounted on cards) and an album of plates on loose sheets. In arrangement, Volume II closely follows its predecessor. It consists mainly of detailed notices of the manuscripts in the *fonds Latin* of the Bibliothèque Nationale that are "fixed," in either place, time, or person. Portions (ranging in size from 6 by 4 to 4 by 2½ inches) of about 550 manuscripts are illustrated, natural size, and the quality of these reproductions is reasonably good. Of the 870-odd manuscripts listed here, only 117 are pre-1200. There is one eleventh-century manuscript dated to a single year, and there are four twelfth-century, thirteen thirteenth-century, and fifty-seven fourteenth-century books in this

category. For the fifteenth century, there are 180 manuscripts dated to the day of completion. The volume includes about a dozen ninth-century manuscripts of known provenance; a fine group of manuscripts from the abbey of St. Martial at Limoges; autographs of Orderic Vitalis, Godfrey of Viterbo, Ramón Lull, Petrarch, Valla, and Thomas Basin; and many excellent examples of the work of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century professional scribes. Mlle. d'Alverny, keeper of the Latin manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, who is the real author of this volume, has done her job exceedingly well. The descriptions are accurate, and no pains have been spared to include the maximum possible number of manuscripts. But the book has its shortcomings: There is no separate index or list of provenances, nor even of countries of origin, of the manuscripts included. There is no subject index. Finally, it may be argued that insufficient attention is devoted to the distinction between dated and datable manuscripts, and too much space is devoted to the latter.

Corpus Christi College

RICHARD VAUGHAN

GUILLELMI DE OCKHAM OPERA POLITICA. Edited by *R. F. Bennett* and *H. S. Offler*. Volume II, edited by *J. G. Sikes*; revised by *H. S. Offler*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1963. Pp. xx, 375-858. £4 4s.) This volume of the political writings of William of Ockham contains Chapters vii to cxxiv of the *Opus nonaginta dierum*. The first six chapters appeared in 1940 in Volume I under the editorship of J. G. Sikes (see *AHR*, XLVIII [Oct. 1942], 82). The present editor, H. S. Offler, has reviewed the problem of the manuscripts and has decided to give more importance to the *editio princeps* (Lyon, 1495) than to the Basle manuscript on which Sikes relied. This edition represents, therefore, a substantial change in text. The *Opus nonaginta dierum* derives its name from Ockham's own statement that he wrote it within the space of ninety days. Composed in 1333, according to Léon Baudry, it was a product of the bitter controversy between Michael of Cesena, head of the Franciscans, and Pope John XXII over the question of evangelical poverty. In form Ockham wrote this treatise as a detailed refutation of the papal bull *Quia vir reprobis*, which condemned Michael. The discussion of evangelical poverty led to the question of property and finally to political theory. This work is significant because it is the earliest presentation of the political conceptions of William of Ockham.

Johns Hopkins University

JOHN W. BALDWIN

L'OCCIDENT AUX XIV^e ET XV^e SIÈCLES: ASPECTS ÉCONOMIQUES ET SOCIAUX. By *Jacques Heers*. ["Nouvelle Clio": L'histoire et ses problèmes, Number 23.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1963. Pp. 388. 20 fr.) The format of the series "Nouvelle Clio" calls for a threefold division into "sources," "what we know," and "where we're going," which is intended to give us a progress report on the historical travels of our generation and erect some signposts for the road ahead. So, in Professor Heers's book, Book I ("Documentation") is essentially a classified bibliography of recent works in economic history; but at the end come fifty-odd items on intellectual and artistic life. Book II ("Nos Connaissances") is quite orthodox in its two-hundred-page section on the countryside and on the city; but following this again we find, oddly, sections on the royal court, on art, and on "spiritual currents." Finally, Book III ("Problèmes et Directions de Recherches") devotes most of its one hundred pages outright to social, religious, spiritual, and artistic problems. Evidently, Heers sees the new turnpike of social and economic history passing through the province of cultural history. He declares quite explicitly that statistical analysis has not proven sufficient, and that the historian "now seeks to penetrate individual and collective mentalities." It would indeed be delightful to have economic history and art history become a normal "double

major" in the curriculum of tomorrow, but that is not likely to happen here. If anything, our disciplines seem to become ever more sharply divided, and quantification is still the pennon of economists. Heers may be prophetic about Europe, however, since scholars there have always dwelt less upon the dichotomy than upon the communication between social sciences and the humanities. Book II, essentially a historiographical summary of recent work in social and economic history, is notable for the catholicity of the author's national interests and linguistic talents. If Heers cannot begin to be exhaustive on any one topic, he can be critical and original in a field of his own expertise, such as town planning. In Book III, the problems section, we encounter better-known issues such as "money economy and investment in culture" and "religious heresy and class conflict," but how many have pondered the meaning of the frequency with which merchant ships bear religious names? Or how the artistic representation of space is related to social-intellectual ferment? Or how costume reveals the shades of social cleavage? These problems are offered the reader in a more or less teasing manner, but still they provide an intriguing part of this volume.

University of Minnesota

RALPH E. GIESEY

GORODA SEVERO-VOSTOCHNOI RUSI XIV-XV VEKOV [The Towns of North-eastern Russia in the 14th and 15th Centuries]. By *A. M. Sakharov*. (Moscow: Moscow State University. 1959. Pp. 234.) Despite objectionable terminology, this book is a wise scholar's plea for moderation. His thesis is that conditions impeded "the formation of bourgeois elements" in the cities under consideration and that, therefore, not cooperation with a rising middle class, typical of new monarchies in Western Europe, but a more traditional "feudal" economy characterized Muscovy and its competitors. Citing Marxist theory and solid data, Sakharov takes issue with many Soviet scholars. He reveals, city by city, information on handicrafts, internal and foreign commerce, and relations with great princes, nobles, and clerics. He demonstrates the paucity of data and risks of extrapolation, disputing the degree of commercial development seen by the late Bazilevich and Bakhrushin. He shows domination by great princes, particularly in Moscow, and the strength of the nobility and clergy, rejecting the view that the normal city was a noble or ecclesiastical patrimony and deprecating the growth of city freedoms depicted by Tikhomirov and others. Decrying an overemphasis on urban support of Russian unity, he does not prove even that degree of cooperation between Muscovite great princes and cities, which he affirms. Nor does he support his assertion that cities regarded the great princes as economic and military bulwarks.

University of Kansas

OSWALD P. BACKUS III

Modern

UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND

THE YORKIST AGE: DAILY LIFE DURING THE WARS OF THE ROSES. By *Paul Murray Kendall*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1962. Pp. 524. \$6.50.) In this volume Professor Kendall has attempted, and very successfully, "to recapture a part of the past." Basing his study on contemporary sources, such as letters, household accounts, wills, chronicles, and town records, he has portrayed with a wealth of detail the daily lives of the people of the late fifteenth century, particularly townsmen, lords, and gentry. The peasant receives short shrift, but understandably so, since the sources offer us little information, and to Edward and his household only one short chapter is devoted. The first third of the book is a section entitled "The Mayor," but the content is much broader than the title, and the life of towns and townsmen comes

vividly alive. After chapters on king, gentry, clergy, merchants, pirates, aliens, and lawyers comes a third section, on the household, perhaps the most interesting of all. Housing, furniture, meals, dress, funeral customs, the marriage hunt, the role of wives, the treatment and education of children are covered in these pages. Kendall writes well, and he has livened his pages by extensive and judiciously chosen quotations from such delightful sources as the Paston letters, the Cely papers, and similar collections. The volume closes with a chapter on the Wars of the Roses, wars that wiped out many a noble house but had little effect on the land or the people. The lack of footnotes, intentionally omitted because of the multiplicity of sources consulted, sometimes bothers the scholar, though most quotations are readily identifiable. In an appendix the author has listed his principal sources and additional sources for each chapter. The volume contains some well-selected illustrations, a list of principal persons briefly identified, and an adequate index. This study of "people in action," covering approximately the half century from 1445 to 1487, makes delightful reading both for the student of English history and the general reader.

Western College for Women

ISABEL R. ABBOTT

GREAT TOOLEY OF IPSWICH: PORTRAIT OF AN EARLY TUDOR MERCHANT. By *John Webb*. ([Ipswich:] Suffolk Records Society. 1962. Pp. xii, 199. 25s.) This volume, like Barbara Winchester's *Tudor Family Portrait* (1955) and G. D. Ramsay's *John Isham* (1962), deepens our understanding of Tudor society by providing a wealth of detail in a breadth of context that infuses all with life and meaning. Henry Tooley, born sometime in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, became a merchant of Ipswich early in the sixteenth century and energetically pursued, though he apparently did not use advanced techniques of bookkeeping, his mercantile activities until his death in the ominous year 1551. A Merchant Adventurer, closely allied with London figures like the rich haberdasher John Simpson and the Greshams, he rose by the end of his life to be one of the wealthiest men in his prosperous community. His chief stock in trade consisted of Suffolk cloth, woad and other dyestuffs, and wine. The main direction of his trade was to the Biscayan ports, especially Bordeaux, though he did trade with the Low Countries and for several years financed and sent his own ship on summer fishing expeditions to Iceland. He was also active in Suffolk and Essex as a distributor of the goods he imported. Finally, he was among the men whom W. K. Jordan has memorialized for their philanthropic efforts. All Tudor scholars are in debt to Webb and the Suffolk Records Society for their determination to publish this study despite financial obstacles.

University of California, Los Angeles

MARK H. CURTIS

PEPYS HIMSELF. By *Cecil S. Emden*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xi, 146. \$3.40.) This attempt to explain Pepys's character, motives, and disposition through a close study of the diary, and with no reference to modern psychology, is full of human interest and presents some very convincing judgments on the personalities of the diarist and his wife. Students of history will find it useful in at least three important respects: It reveals the difficulties facing Restoration public servants who wished to retain the confidence of colleagues and superiors engaged in factional disputes. It provides an admirable case history of official corruption, accompanied, paradoxically, by Pepys's constant striving for reform in purchasing procedures. Lastly it is a valuable commentary on the diary as a whole, for it shows that individual hostile statements about persons were frequently merely instances of letting off steam. Altogether this is a very revealing and charmingly written book.

Vanderbilt University

P. H. HARDACRE

THE PARLIAMENTARY DIARY OF SIR EDWARD KNATCHBULL, 1722-1730. Edited by *A. N. Newman*. [Camden Third Series, Volume XCIV.] (London: Royal Historical Society. 1963. Pp. xiv, 162.) Once again the Royal Historical Society has sponsored the publication of useful and interesting source material for the study of British history. In this brief volume Mr. Newman has provided us with a carefully edited diary of a minor political figure of the 1720's. Since this is a decade particularly void of reports of the House of Commons, the volume adds important insights and details even though it is often infuriatingly brief. The editor has attempted to augment the information by including excerpts from four other parliamentary reports in appendixes. It is, on the whole, a satisfying contribution to the history of eighteenth-century British politics.

New York University

JOHN W. WILKES

MONTESQUIEU AND BURKE. By *C. P. Courtney*. [Modern Language Studies.] (Oxford, Eng.: Basil Blackwell. 1963. Pp. xv, 204. 35s.) The author of this short monograph, originally an Oxford dissertation, has addressed himself to the generally accepted but never really tested thesis that Edmund Burke was a disciple of Montesquieu. Both printed and manuscript sources have been combed, the evidence has been carefully weighed, and the pitfalls inherent in any study of the relationship of one great thinker to another have been resolutely avoided. Although he does not say so, he has found no real evidence of discipleship; as for the influence of Montesquieu on Burke, he has really not found much more evidence. Burke, he quite rightly insists, was a politician who devoted his talents to rationalizing and idealizing the policies of the Rockingham party to which he belonged and which he served. As a propagandist for this faction, he occasionally exploited some of the ideas he found in Montesquieu by adapting them to current topics. On several occasions, for example in his speeches on the American crisis, he also applied the Montesquieuan technique of historical analysis, which he greatly admired and which he had used in an earlier attempt at history writing. But on the occasion of the French Revolution, which he refused to think of in Montesquieuan terms of genetic or historical development, he abandoned that form of analysis. Yet there remained his basically empirical and conservative bias, so much like that of Montesquieu; and it is the author's conclusion that Burke came to view Montesquieu not so much as a source of his ideas, which were the product of wide reading and long practical experience, but rather as a much-admired fellow worker, posthumous of course, in the cause of defending traditional government against the abstract rationalism that he believed had come to power in France in 1789.

University of Arkansas

GORDON H. McNEIL

QUIBERON BAY. By *Geoffrey Marcus*. (Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishing Company. 1963. Pp. xii, 212. \$5.50.) This is one of the most welcome volumes in the "British Battle Series," originally published in London by Batsford. Many of the other encounters in that series, from the Armada to World War II already had ample coverage, but Quiberon Bay has scarcely received adequate appreciation since the days of Mahan and Corbett. It was a unique encounter in that era of static, indecisive, "line-ahead" tactics strictly enjoined by the "Fighting Instructions." This time, despite the gale blowing onto the rocky Breton coast between L'Orient and St. Nazaire, Hawke signaled for "general chase" on November 20, 1759, and inflicted such punishment on the French Atlantic fleet that it did not put to sea again during the war. That dramatic story, however, occupies only three of the book's twenty excellent chapters. Much more space is given to the broader strategic considerations of the dogged persistence with which Hawke, the hero of the book, maintained an effective blockade of the Brest fleet. With the threat of invasion by a French army from just across the Channel, Pitt refused to call back forces

from the operations in Canada, relying upon what Hawke and his storm-tossed ships could do. This battle, Marcus points out, climaxed the year of victories. "Month by month, good tidings had come pouring in—Goree, Guadeloupe, Ticonderoga, Niagara, Minden, Lagos Bay, and finally Quiberon Bay." The book is a workmanlike job, with good research and several interesting appendixes. Marcus is rapidly coming into his own as a British naval historian. Starting with a doctoral thesis at Oxford on medieval shipping in northern waters, he lectured to young naval officers during the war and now has brought out the first of three projected volumes covering the whole story of the Royal Navy in all its aspects.

Harvard University

ROBERT G. ALBION

THE ENGLISH LANDED ESTATE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: ITS ADMINISTRATION. By *David Spring*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1963. Pp. vi, 216. \$5.00.) David Spring has chosen to study the administration of the landed estates in nineteenth-century England by studying some of their owners and agents and a government commission that aided them. Spring has, in Chapter 1, briefly noted the "anatomy" of twelve estates, but he then turns to detailed studies of the Duke of Bedford as a great landowner, to the work of some fifteen persons as chief agents, auditors, and land agents, and to the Inclosure Commissioners. From these detailed studies and from wide reading about landowners, lawyers, and landed agents in general, Spring comes to some tentative conclusions. First, he notes that the nineteenth-century landowners spent more time on administrative and agricultural affairs than they had ever before, supported improved agriculture, followed methods as businesslike as industrialists, and yet still maintained a paternalistic concern for tenants and played a semifeudal role in society. Second, he finds that both the lawyers who worked as auditors and chief agents and the practical men of agriculture who worked as land agents reflected "the emergence of the modern professional spirit," managed estates efficiently, and practiced scientific agriculture. They were also socially conservative and deeply loyal to the families who employed them. Spring's third conclusion concerns the large role that the Inclosure Commissioners played in estate management. Not only did they supervise inclosures, but they inspected private estates in order to approve government loans for agricultural improvements. The above summary states, more baldly than the author would wish, some of his best insights. Spring is a judicious social historian, one with a literary rather than a scientific bent. He prefers the artistic portrait which exemplifies rather than the statistical statement which proves. "It is impossible . . . to be statistical," he says in discussing whether the Duke of Bedford was typical of great landowners, yet he does find him somewhat typical, and does so by "relying on one's sense of the situation, that is, the sum of one's own observations and those of others." Given the Herculean task of generalizing about thousands of landowners and land agents, this intuitive approach seems, if not impeccable, at least necessary. But it can be dangerous. Since Spring considers that Bedford "if not typical in all respects of the great landowner, still conveys much of their flavor" and since he portrays him as compassionate and paternalistic, the reader is thus gently led to infer that landowners in general were compassionate and paternalistic, an inference strengthened by other remarks about their sense of duty and social leadership. But Spring nowhere offers statistical evidence that landowners in general were compassionate and paternalistic. Neither is his basis for generalizing about landowners and agents widened by a long chapter on the Inclosure Commissioners that scarcely mentions the actual administration of landed estates. This monograph, in short, is not sufficiently comprehensive in its evidence nor sufficiently focused in analysis to constitute a general history of the administration of the landed estate. But in its excellent use of estate papers, in its shrewd judgment of men, and in its wise sense of social com-

plexities, it constitutes an admirable step toward a definitive study of the administration of the landed estates in nineteenth-century England.

Dartmouth College

DAVID ROBERTS

JOHN MALCOLM LUDLOW: THE BUILDER OF CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM. By N. C. Masterman. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1963. Pp. vii, 299. \$5.50.) At the center of the Christian Socialist movement in England was the "enigmatic and anonymous" figure of J. M. Ludlow, the most doctrinaire socialist and the most constructively practical of the Christian Socialists. Working behind the scenes, Ludlow was the movement's link with continental socialists and English trade-unions, the intellectual stimulus and organizational "chief of staff" to the leader, F. D. Maurice, and the "builder" of the institutional accomplishments of Christian Socialism, especially its "voluntary co-operative element." Masterman does not entirely succeed in removing the mystery from Ludlow's personality; he relies heavily on Ludlow's manuscript autobiography. He proposes a revision of the Webbs' minimization of the Christian Socialist role in labor history. The discussion of Ludlow's continental connections is a contribution to intellectual history; Ludlow's later work with friendly societies will interest social and administrative historians. Ludlow, a child of the romantic movement, did not fully appreciate the decisive role of the state as opposed to voluntary associations. Unfortunately Masterman tries to invest his subject with a contemporary relevance. Despite this, he has produced a useful historical monograph.

University of Minnesota

JOSEF L. ALTHOLZ

THE SUPREME CONTROL AT THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE 1919: A COMMENTARY. By Lord Hankey. (London: George Allen and Unwin. 1963. Pp. 206. 36s.) This little book is a sequel to *The Supreme Command, 1914-1918*, published in 1961 (see *AHR*, LXVII [Jan. 1962], 394). Although interesting, it is not so important as the previous one, in which Hankey clarified many matters. The Paris Peace Conference is not terra incognita, large numbers of documents and personal memoirs having long been available, including two volumes by Lloyd George. It is ironical that because the British government has not opened to research its papers on the peace conference, Hankey, when he wishes to quote documents—and he frequently does—is forced to use the papers published by the Department of State in *Foreign Relations of the United States*. This must have annoyed him, for he was not an admirer of the United States. If, then, Hankey has little that is new about the issues confronting the conference, his book is valuable as a record of procedure and of the changes in procedures made during the conference in which he himself played a leading part. It is the equivalent in English, thirty years later, of Wilhelm Ziegler's *Versailles* (1933), and should be extremely useful to all persons writing about the conference. Hankey was well acquainted with a large number of people (he was secretary of the British Empire delegation), and without referring to Keynes's *Economic Consequences of the Peace* he leaves no doubt that the portraits of the Big Four in that famous volume were caricatures. He greatly admired Clemenceau, and he speaks respectfully of Wilson (although not always agreeing with his policies). He ends his book with the remark that "never did I serve a more friendly, genial and efficient team than: Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Woodrow Wilson and Orlando." Although Winston Churchill once said that Hankey "knew everything," he apparently failed to observe the growing coolness between Wilson and House; at any rate, he says nothing about it. Hankey died recently at the age of eighty-five.

University of Chicago

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

DOCUMENTS ON BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1919-1939. First Series, Volume XII, WESTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE, THE BALKAN STATES, JANUARY-DECEMBER 1920; TRANSCAUCASIA, FEBRUARY 1920-APRIL 1921; RUSSIA, FEBRUARY 1920-MARCH 1921. Edited by Rohan Butler and J. P. T. Bury. Assisted by M. E. Lambert. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1962. Pp. lxxxvii, 841. \$19.00 postpaid.) As the first series of the British interwar documents plods its way toward completion, one finds it increasingly difficult to discern any principle of organization, other than the roughly chronological, which dictates that certain materials should be bound together in particular sequences. Volume XII is a case in point. A brief first chapter concerns itself with the Low Countries and with the perennial question of a Channel tunnel, to be followed by a more substantial section on the military control, political future, and economic relief of Austria and Hungary. Next comes a section on relations with the Balkan States, especially Rumania, in 1920. The succeeding chapter, lapping over into 1921, covers the Transcaucasian states and culminates in a dispatch describing the Soviet Russian and Turkish invasions of Georgia that brought to an end the independence of that republic. A final chapter outlines British policy toward the Bolshevik government in Moscow and the regime of General Wrangel in south Russia. Documents that have previously been published, as for example in Jane Degras' *Soviet Documents on Foreign Policy*, are not reprinted, so that the materials are largely fresh if sometimes of secondary significance. Still, despite the question of organization, this is another useful volume in the series. It will presumably have to do until the Foreign Office archives for the period are opened, we hope, in seven or eight years.

Rutgers University

HENRY R. WINKLER

BRITAIN DIVIDED: THE EFFECT OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR ON BRITISH POLITICAL OPINION. By K. W. Watkins. (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1963. Pp. viii, 270. 30s.) Convinced that "not since the French Revolution had a 'foreign event' so bitterly divided the British people," Watkins emphasizes the value of national unity as he analyzes the British response to the Spanish Civil War. Although his sympathies are clearly with the Left in Britain and in Spain, his treatment of the various embattled factions is scrupulously fair. The early chapters concern British interests in Spain, the "image and reality" of Spain, and the formation of the Non-Intervention Committee. Watkins' lengthy refutation of A. L. Loveday's "proof" of a Communist plot against the Republic is brilliantly conclusive. Loveday's "documents" may now rest with the Donation of Constantine. The center of the book is, however, Watkins' excellent analysis of the British Right and the British Left. After a brief account of the pro-Fascist minority, Watkins concentrates on the devious and often mendacious course steered by Baldwin and Chamberlain. Reminding readers that the *Anschluss* and Munich are only part of the story of appeasement, he describes the Spanish events that led to Eden's resignation. His chapter on the British Left is essentially an account of decisions made by the leadership of the British Labour party and the Trades Union Congress. The struggle to aid the Spanish Republic while keeping the Communists out of the Labour party is handled in subtle detail. The book ends with a brief account of events since 1939, a final plea for unity and democracy, a last rap at Chamberlain, and a series of strangely chosen appendixes. Despite its usefulness, the book is doubly narrow. First, European sources are used copiously but only when available in English. This means, for example, that Hugh Thomas' history of the war is used rather than the far more accurate account by Pierre Broué and Émile Témime. Second, the sharp focus upon official opinion leaves some rather eerie shadows. The government and the opposition are handled well, but public opinion, as discerned from books, pamphlets, magazines, newspapers, speeches, and

polls, is distinctly peripheral. The extended and embittered debate among and within religious groups is scant. *The Tablet*, for instance, is not mentioned. Furthermore, the role of the intellectuals in forming opinion is, in this book, very minor indeed. While Lord Redesdale, Sir Nairne Stewart Sandeman, and dozens of political nonentities have their say, Auden and Spender are dismissed as unrepresentative, and George Orwell goes entirely unmentioned in the text. Nonetheless, if *Britain Divided* be classified as a study of foreign policy rather than as an analysis of the political situation broadly construed, it is a welcome addition to the scholarly histories that have begun to supplement the memoirs, polemics, and poetry of a war whose effects are, as Watkins notes, very much a part of the contemporary situation.

Amherst College

ALLEN GUTTMANN

EUROPE

SIR CONSTANTINE HUYGENS AND BRITAIN: 1596-1687. A PATTERN OF CULTURAL EXCHANGE. Volume I, 1596-1619. By *A. G. H. Bachrach*. [Publications of the Sir Thomas Browne Institute, Leiden. General Series, Number 1.] (New York: Oxford University Press for the Institute. 1962. Pp. xii, 238. \$6.10.) Professor A. G. H. Bachrach and the Sir Thomas Browne Institute at Leiden deserve much praise for this work, which not only gives a real insight into Anglo-Dutch history, but also illustrates the really significant Anglo-Dutch cultural exchange during the seventeenth century. It was to delve more deeply into the impact of the English cultural stream upon the Netherlands that the institute was founded in 1958. It is only fitting that its headquarters was located at the University of Leiden, which has for so long been associated with British intellectual life. The greater part of the book deals with a five-month visit that Sir Constantine Huygens made to England in 1618. During that time the Arminian controversy was splitting English and Dutch theologians into opposite camps. The highly impressionable Huygens followed this and other events closely, and it was during this visit that he forged strong connections with the British court, which were to stand him in good stead during his later diplomatic career. His comments on the English scene were pertinent. He watched the ramifications of the Raleigh affair and saw Britain, along with Europe, drift into the Thirty Years' War. He reveled in British learning and was delighted with British buildings, especially those at Oxford, the royal palaces, and Audley End. On the other hand, his English friends and transplanted Hollanders were pleased with his conversation and entertained by his music. The letters he wrote home are valuable sources for the intellectual history of the period; they show the close interrelation between the learned world of England and that of the Netherlands. Furthermore, his English trip inspired him to write poetry. So important was England in the shaping of the famous Dutch intellectual and statesman that he could still write in his old age, "England made me." Bachrach shows conclusively how closely Britain and the Netherlands were bound to each other through trade, war, politics, and things cultural. Along with a few hardy pioneers in this field such as Rosalie Colie, he has added to our knowledge of a community that for a time was intellectually neither Dutch nor English, but rather Anglo-Dutch. The style of the book is not outstanding, but the contents are well worth the effort of reading it.

Coe College

JOHN J. MURRAY

LES ARCHIVES DE LA GUERRE ET DE LA MARINE À PARIS ET L'HISTOIRE DE BELGIQUE. By *Albert Duchesne*. (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, Commission royale d'Histoire. 1962. Pp. 541.) As the title indicates, this is a guide to material in military and naval archives in Paris pertaining to Belgian history. The documents

described in this inventory are distributed unevenly over the period 1660–1920 and include a collection of military cartography, a series of reports by French military attachés in Belgium, material on Belgian units serving with French armies in the eighteenth century, and documents on the French intervention in Belgium in 1831–1834 and on Belgian participation in Maximilian's adventure in Mexico. This is a research aid, of little interest to the general reader, but a valuable guide to a graduate student gathering materials on Belgian military or political history.

Falls Church, Virginia

THEODORE B. HODGES

SOLDATS DES RÉGIMENTS NATIONAUX AU XVIII^{ÈME} SIÈCLE: NOTES ET DOCUMENTS. By *Joseph Ruwet*. (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, Commission royale d'Histoire. 1962. Pp. 312.) This dense little volume on the Austrian Habsburg regiments that were stationed and recruited in Belgium is divided into two parts. The first one hundred pages form a solid, substantial essay on the geographical origins, urban-rural background, occupation, age, height, and pay of the recruits. The final two hundred pages present documents concerning such matters as the purchase of weapons, the military budget, desertions, and the patents of proprietary colonels. The book should be useful to those interested in the social, economic, and military history of the eighteenth century, specifically of Belgium and the Habsburg monarchy.

Duke University

HAROLD T. PARKER

RUSSIA AND GREECE DURING THE REGENCY OF KING OTHO, 1832–1835: RUSSIAN DOCUMENTS ON THE FIRST YEARS OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE. By *Barbara Jelavich*. [*Ἑταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν: Ἰδρυμα Μελέτων Χερσονήσου τοῦ Ἀιμοῦ*, Number 55.] (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies. 1962. Pp. 155. \$3.00.) Many materials regarding the first years of the reign of Otto of Bavaria were never systematically collected. Even the papers in the most obvious repositories have often been overlooked. In this short compendium Professor Barbara Jelavich brings to light twenty-two documents from the files of the Bavarian *Geheimes Staatsarchiv* in Munich. They are all in French and consist largely of communications sent by the Russian Ministry for Foreign Affairs to its representative in Munich concerning the establishment of the Greek government of King Otto. In preparing her statement on "Russia and the Greek Revolution," the author has also used other sources, including dispatches from the Bavarian representative in St. Petersburg to his government. Included in the compendium are a few reproductions of pictures of Otto, taken from the files of the Bavarian *Kriegsarchiv*, and several appendixes, mostly Nesselrode's circulars on the Russian policy toward Greece. The index of names would have been more useful had the author included the full names, titles, and ranks of the persons listed. The conclusion reached by the author is that the goal of Russian policy during the early days of Otto's rule was not "political domination of Athens." Although the documents published do not include anything of startling importance, they do supply many details that help to unravel European diplomacy concerning the Greek question.

Stanford University

WAYNE S. VUCINICH

SULLA FONDAZIONE DEL MATERIALISMO STORICO: IN APPENDICE KARL MARX, DEMOCRITO ED EPICURO. By *Alfredo Sabetti*. [Biblioteca di Cultura, Number 70.] (Florence: La Nuova Italia. 1962. Pp. vii, 422. L. 2,700.) Alfredo Sabetti's book is of interest to those concerned with the growing output of literature on Marx, but it adds little to what many others have already said. (It also has the unfortunate drawback of being rather poorly printed.) It is a scholarly, somewhat heavy exercise in the interpretation of what for the author, who has published

much on Marx since 1956, are sacred texts, in this case the writings of Marx in his twenties. The book has two purposes: one is to show that there is no lack of continuity in the thought of the young Marx; the other, common to many Italian Marxist intellectuals, is to fit Marx and Marxism into the framework of the European (Italian) humanist tradition. The book consists of three parts, which are actually separate and independent essays. The first and most readable deals with Marx's doctoral thesis on the difference between Democritus and Epicurus and shows the influence exercised by the father of ancient materialism on the main spokesman for the nineteenth-century version. The second part is an involved comment on Marx's already rather involved comments on Hegel; it contains a discussion on the distinction between Right and Left Hegelianism and the derivation of Marxism from Left Hegelianism. This is a main topic of discussion in European Marxist intellectual circles: Communism derives from Left Hegelianism, and everything else, globally described as fascism, belongs to Right Hegelianism. Sabetti indirectly confirms the fact that Marx thought and wrote as if he had never been aware of the existence of other than Hegelian intellectual frameworks. The third section deals with the writings of the middle 1840's in which the author finds already formulated the position of dialectical historical materialism. Useful for the Italian reader is a good translation of Marx's doctoral thesis, published as an appendix.

Smith College

MASSIMO SALVADORI

PRIMITIVE REBELS: STUDIES IN ARCHAIC FORMS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES. By E. J. Hobsbawm. (2d ed.; New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1963. Pp. vii, 208. \$5.00.) Already published in both England and America, this book has now been reissued by Praeger as one of the "Books that Matter." The question is, how much? *Primitive Rebels* is a curious book: as the author suggests, it is not intended as a piece of utter scholarship, but rather as a set of suggestions for further study. Dr. Hobsbawm is concerned with forms of social protest in European preindustrial society, which in practice means southern Italy and Spain. By definition, documentation of movements such as these is very difficult to come by. He deals with forms of overt social protest from the individual bandit, self-formed on the Robin Hood model, through the Maffia, messianism, mobs, and moderate groups of religious workers in the British Isles. He distinguishes between social protest and social banditry, a particular form of which he sees in the Maffia, though he also sees in the Maffia a system of law parallel to and substituting for the official system, usually badly or little enforced. With Norman Cohn, he sees millenarianism as revolutionary rather than reformist; some of his most brilliant pages are those in which he discusses how millenarian movements are absorbed into modern political patterns. When he turns to another religiously expressed form of protest, that of the "labour sects," as he calls them, of England, he makes it plain that their religion, like their politics, is moderate and reformist rather than millenarian and revolutionary. In this discussion, he denies to Methodism the impetus of protest so often attributed to it, regarding it in the literal sense as an opiate of the people. What is significant about all these types of primitive rebellion is their inadequacy—independent social banditry has a short half life; if the Maffia is an organized antilaw, its foundation upon unconcealed corruption minimizes its potential as a crusade; the mob is without ideas; millenarianism and anarchism, however sympathetic in their virtues, are insufficiently ideological; and the labour sects, though ideological, spring from the early industrial phase of Western history and are thus bourgeois-revolutionary and ultimately ineffectual. (The concept of time is surely operative here: millenarian utopianists dispense with time immediately after the great change, and gradualists are often betrayed by their great reliance upon the relation of time to progress.) As presented,

these studies are of protorevolutionaries and kindergarten revolutions; only industrial societies can produce the real thing. As the introduction points out disarmingly, the book can be criticized on method, both scholarly and ideational. For all this, and in spite of one's exasperation at what the book does not say, it *is* a book that matters and should stimulate considerably more discussion (and, one may hope, more scholarship).

State University of Iowa

R. L. COLIE

LE COMMERCE DU PASTEL ET DE L'ÉPICERIE À TOULOUSE DE 1450 ENVIRON À 1561. By Gilles Caster. [Bibliothèque Méridionale, publiée sous les auspices de la Faculté des Lettres de Toulouse, Second Series, Volume XXXVII.] (Toulouse: Édouard Privat. 1962. Pp. 411. 36 fr.) This is a useful but rather limited contribution to the rapidly growing body of literature on French economic history. M. Caster's *thèse de doctorat ès lettres* deals with the period following that covered in Philippe Wolff's monumental *Commerces et marchands de Toulouse*, but because of the increase in available documentation, instead of following the pattern of Wolff's vast survey, it examines only two branches of trade, pastel and grocery. The phenomenal expansion of Toulouse's exports of the dye in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries makes pastel an obvious choice, but Caster's reasons for including grocery are unconvincing. The two branches of commerce were related—some merchants sold both pastel and grocery—but the nature of the relationship is not explored in the book. The treatment of the grocery trade is desultory, consisting of little more than a catalogue of places of origin and sale of individual products. The section on the pastel trade, which describes the conduct and expansion of the trade and the problems the merchants faced, is much better. The atmosphere in which sixteenth-century merchants worked is well depicted in a chapter on the crisis of 1561, based largely on one of the rare surviving collections of commercial correspondence, that of the *pastellier* Étienne Ferrières. Here, at least, the author achieves his aim of centering his work "on personalities, on human experiences." It is unfortunate that his self-imposed limitations were so strenuous. In restricting the size of his subject, he has deliberately left aside any consideration of the role of the pastel merchants and the pastel trade in the economy and society of Toulouse; nor has he looked beyond Toulouse to place his study in a broader French or European context.

Palo Alto, California

RONDA LARMOUR

CATHERINE DE MEDICI. By Jean Héritier. Translated by Charlotte Haldane. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1963. Pp. 480. \$7.95.) This translation of the 1959 revision of Héritier's original biography (1941) embraces the entire span of Catherine's life. Concentrating on her concern with the French "Wars of Religion," the author must be commended for his skill in guiding the reader through that intricate tangle of political, religious, military, and diplomatic affairs. Héritier contends Catherine de Médicis, usually unjustly portrayed as a scheming, unscrupled *politique*, was a great ruler, preserving the monarchy and the "Gallican State" amid the ruins piled up by the Spanish and the ultramontanés. Because Henry of Navarre was tardy in changing his faith, argues the author, Catherine died before her positive contribution was recognized, and posterity has closed its eyes to her great service to France. "No suffering that is accepted, borne and offered, fails to bear fruit. Hers led to the salvation of the kingdom. By maintaining intact its principles and its frontiers Catherine de Medici, a great King of France, ensured the victory of the Blood of the Capets in the person of Henri IV and the restoration of the nation." To equate Catherine's service to France with that of Elizabeth I to England may require even more than Héritier's able advocacy. Blaming the circumstances of civil war and the conduct of her contemporaries for various failures does not make Catherine a great ruler. To censure "Parisian fanatics" for St. Bartholo-

mew's Massacre does not exonerate Catherine; even allowing for circumstances, her conduct hardly seems statesmanlike. The author's apparent assumption that the political thought of many sixteenth-century leaders was separate from their religious beliefs is questionable, but his work should modify the image of Catherine as a mere *politique*. A major contribution of the 1941 edition was the extensive bibliography that is unfortunately omitted from this edition, which will probably be more readily available in America than the original. Miss Haldane deserves high praise for her excellent translation.

Pennsylvania State University

ROBERT W. GREEN

HISTOIRE DU PROTESTANTISME FRANÇAIS. By *Raoul Stéphan*. Preface by *Marc Boegner*. [Les temps et les destins.] (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard. 1961. Pp. 396. 15 fr.) This is an essay rather than a monograph; it is addressed to a wide audience rather than to the academic specialist. The author is a Huguenot and is primarily concerned with Calvinism, giving only passing attention to the Lutheran community in France. Indeed, several times he warns the reader against overemphasizing the German influence in the French Reformation: "One must not exaggerate the influence of Luther, nor even of Switzerland: the Reformation, in France, had a decidedly French origin and character. . . ." Huguenot though he may be, he is eminently fair in his treatment. He does not hesitate to censure his coreligionists for their motives and acts when he feels censure is their due, but in attempting to be fair to his Catholic compatriots he perhaps makes too many allowances for them as, for instance, when he claims that "Catholics [during the eighteenth century] were rarely fanatical and inhuman, and often disapproved of the persecutions." However, he does not conceal his partisanship for the Christian ecumenical movement. He is convinced that "our century is an era of *rassemblements*," and throughout his work he cites with obvious sympathy appeals to Christian unity, whether made by a member of a sixteenth-century Estates-General or by a Chinese delegate to a Christian conference in 1910. Perhaps more by accident than design, his book falls into three sections. The first deals with the background and development of the Reformation in France to the end of the eighteenth century; it is well handled and at times beautifully written. The second section deals with the nineteenth-century revival in France and the advent of Protestant sects to the country; too often this reads like a catalogue of Church organizations and activities. Finally, the author addresses himself to the question of whether there is a "Protestant style," that is, a distinctive trait that sets the French Protestant apart from his compatriots. He is convinced that there is and that the Huguenot artist is a man "whom one can compare with others, but whom one cannot confound with others." The work shows the use of primary sources, but generally follows closely the writings of other French scholars in the field such as Émile G. Léonard.

Pomona College

BURDETTE C. POLAND

OUVRARD: SPECULATOR OF GENIUS, 1770-1846. By *Otto Wolff*. Translated by *Stewart Thomson*. Introduction and notes by *T. A. B. Corley*. (New York: David McKay Company. 1962. Pp. xiv, 239. \$5.95.) The author, a German merchant-industrialist, originally published this book in 1932 as *Die Geschäfte des Herrn Ouvrard*. In preparing it he employed a professional collaborator and drew on Parisian archives, the archives of the Hope bank in Amsterdam, and a mass of published materials, including the memoirs of the Hope agent Vincent Nolte, which he was the first to use. Now we have an English translation supplemented with an introduction, some critical notes, and a short bibliographical essay indicating some findings of more recent scholarship. Although Wolff had too much confidence in Ouvrard's memoirs, his biog-

raphy remains the best except for that of Maurice Payard (*Le financier Ouvrard, 1770-1846* [1958]), who tells more about Ouvrard's purely French operations and the mysteries of his private fortune. What remains is to search the notarial archives for more data on Ouvrard's "invisible reserves," the properties that he registered in the names of "straw men" or entrusted to others for safekeeping. Because there is no indication that any large stock of his papers exists, this is the only way to determine how much he made and lost from his ventures. Ouvrard's career—his speculations in colonial products, paper, confiscated properties, army and navy contracts, concessions, and government loans; his fantastic partnership of 1804 with the King of Spain; his schemes to collect what Bonaparte's government owed him and avoid paying the judgments and penalties decreed against him; his battles in the law courts and eight years in debtors' prison; his influence with Dutch and British bankers, Spanish ministers and courtiers, and personalities like Fouché and Talleyrand—illustrates how financial fortunes were built and claims an important place in the history of capitalism. It also illuminates the crudities, shortsightedness, and failures of Bonaparte's financial policies.

University of North Carolina

GEORGE V. TAYLOR

LE COMITÉ DE SALUT PUBLIC (1793-1795). By Marc Bouloiseau. ["Que sais-je?" Number 1014.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1962. Pp. 126.) Since 1888, when Aulard was commissioned to publish its papers, the Committee of Public Safety and its members have been the theme of many treatises, an admirable analysis of which was presented by Professor Palmer in the *Journal of Modern History*, XIII (Sept. 1941). During the intervening years, additional studies have appeared, the latest by Marc Bouloiseau. The introduction indicates the author's awareness of what the committee was: an emergency executive. Part One (Chapters 1 and 11) traces its antecedents from Montesquieu and Rousseau through the conflict of legislature and executive under the monarchy to the Commission of Twelve, the Committee of General Defense, and the first Committee of Public Safety in the early years of the Republic. The seven chapters of Part Two summarize effectively the work of the Great Committee (July 1793 to July 1794). And Part Three (the final chapter) deals with the subsequent "Thermidorian" Committee (July 1794 to October 1795). A two-page conclusion evaluates the significance of the committee and closes with Napoleon's realistic words: "Those are the men who saved France." Students of the Revolution should be grateful to Bouloiseau for a scholarly and readable summation of a complex topic.

Western Reserve University

JOHN HALL STEWART

HISTOIRE DE LA FAMILLE SCHNEIDER ET DU CREUSOT. By Joseph-Antoine Roy. (Paris: Marcel Rivière et Cie. 1962. Pp. 156.) Although the book bears no indication of the fact, this slender study was in 1954 presented as a thesis for the *doctorat en droit* at Paris. It suffers from many of the flaws commonly associated with this genre. A loose scheme of organization makes for overlapping and repetitiveness in the text, and the separate treatment of economic and industrial affairs, on the one hand, and political matters, on the other, prevents the reader's getting a coherent view of the intricate complex of forces that made the Le Creusot of fact and legend. Preoccupied with rehabilitating the Schneiders' reputation, the author tends to see only heroes and villains—the latter, all who attacked or disagreed with the powerful dynasty. The tone of much of the book is reminiscent of nineteenth-century funeral eulogies, or else of slick brochures of company history prepared for world's fairs. Thus the picture that emerges of a company town, marked by aggressive paternalism and antiunion bias, is uncritically held up as a model for labor-management relations. In addition to national and local archival material and a fairly wide range of secondary works, the author used the

Schneider family papers. Undoubtedly fortunate in this respect, he could nevertheless have achieved a fuller dimensioned study through greater utilization of the newspaper materials in his bibliography. More correlation of developments at Le Creusot with what was going on both in economic life and in political life in the rest of France would also have been welcome. At best the book possesses interest as a primer of one enterprise in French industrial life in the days before the general ascendance of the "think small," cautious psychology.

Washington, D. C.

JEAN T. JOUGHIN

EMILE OLLIVIER AND THE LIBERAL EMPIRE OF NAPOLEON III. By *Theodore Zeldin*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. 248. \$5.60.) Given the tone of the lengthy controversy over Émile Ollivier, no reviewer should claim that Mr. Zeldin's will be the last word. In my opinion, however, he has given us the best word to date. He has no illusions about Ollivier's liabilities as a politician: the conceit, the vanity, the utter tactlessness, the shimmering oratory (of which he, himself, was the first victim), all contributed to his failure to do the political groundwork necessary to carry others with him. Yet, Zeldin rejects the traditional view of Ollivier as a turncoat; for republicanism was not a unified movement in the nineteenth century, and Ollivier's brand was that of the pre-1848 idealists, not that of the post-1848 realists. In the earlier period, Bonapartism and republicanism had much in common, notably linking universal suffrage with a strong executive and favoring "representative government" rather than true parliamentarianism. After 1852, when most republicans believed in a weak executive and a strong parliament, Ollivier developed a strong distaste for their "systematic opposition" to the Emperor. While each chapter contains important and well-documented information about Ollivier, the book gains in significance by offering evidence that the Second Empire was capable of being made liberal. No doubt it would have been difficult to get the new regime of 1870 ordered and functioning, but in summing up the work of the ministry of January 2, Zeldin echoes La Gorce's earlier verdict that "this work, though interrupted at its very start, though a little spoilt by some excesses of optimism and some inexperience, deserves not to be forgotten. It was one of the best attempted in the nineteenth century." His study of the Constitution of 1870 is unique, accounting for its ambiguities and showing its relation to the ideas of 1815 and 1848. Moreover, he shows that this Constitution was not an evolutionary step between despotism and parliamentary government, but another attempt to reconcile strong government with liberty and democracy—as in 1815, 1848, and 1958.

Antioch College

ROGER L. WILLIAMS

LE PLURALISME DRAMATIQUE DE GEORGES SOREL. By *Georges Goriely*. (Paris: Marcel Rivière et Cie. 1962. Pp. 244.) This is a study of Sorel's major writings up to and including the publication of the *Réflexions sur la violence* in 1908. Attention is centered primarily on works best illustrating the author's thesis that the concept of pluralism which Sorel discovered for himself independently of James most effectively characterizes the ensemble of his work. This pluralism is demonstrated to be methodological, ethical, and historical. Sorelian thought is described as in the tradition of Jansenist pessimism, modified by Vico's concept of *ricorso*, and variously shaped by reading of Renan, Taine, Le Play, Tocqueville, and, above all, Proudhon. Though basically a traditionalist, Sorel was fearful of decadence and, therefore, was constantly on the alert for signs of moral and institutional renovation. Sorel is cited for having been one of the first intellectuals to recognize the importance of Freud and for having undergone an evolution rather similar to that of Max Weber. Though a valuable

addition to the literature on Sorel, particularly in its philosophical insight, this study, nevertheless, has a number of definite limitations. It contains virtually no biographical material and no consideration of Sorel's impact on persons and movements. Moreover, 1908 would appear to be far more satisfactory as a starting point for a study on Sorel than as a terminal point. The author dismisses too casually Sorel's later "absurd fixations," such as anti-Semitism and militarism. And he is apparently unaware of the innumerable articles Sorel wrote for newspapers and periodicals in his later years. It was precisely after 1908 that Sorel became aware that the possibilities for a *ricorso* were not limited to the proletariat. It was then that he shifted his allegiance from revolutionary syndicalism to monarchism. By the time of his death in 1922 he had become an admirer of both Lenin and Mussolini.

Roosevelt University

JACK J. ROTH

JOHAN VAN OLDENBARNEVELT: BESCHEIDEN BETREFFENDE ZIJN STAATKUNDIG BELEID EN ZIJN FAMILIE. Volume II, 1602-1613. Edited by A. J. Veenendaal. [Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Large Series, Number 108.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1962. Pp. xiv, 619.) Although the figure of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt dominated the early history of the Dutch Republic after the death of William the Silent, he has possessed until recently neither documentary publications nor a biography adequate to the standards of modern historical scholarship. The needed biography is now appearing from the pen of Jan den Tex, while a critical edition of sources, begun in 1934 by Dr. S. P. Haak, has been resumed by Dr. A. J. Veenendaal, director of the "Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën." Veenendaal's present volume covers the period of the negotiation of the Twelve Years' Truce and the start of the struggle over the Remonstrants. The editor has prepared a text of great utility to historians, but with characteristic modesty has not taken the opportunity in his introduction to give the reader his own vision of Oldenbarnevelt. It is to be hoped that when he has completed the series of source volumes, presumably with the third, he will write his own book on the great pensionary to set alongside Den Tex's biography, and to prove that the work of archivist, editor, and historian may all go hand in hand.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

HERBERT H. ROWEN

FRA SEKT TIL PARTI: DET NORSKE ARBEIDERPARTIS ORGANISASJONS-
MESSIGE OG POLITISKE UTVIKLING FRA 1891 TIL 1902. By Halvard Lange.
[Avhandling utgitt av Universitetets historiske seminar, Number 12.] ([Oslo:] Uni-
versitetsforlaget. 1962. Pp. 257.) Lange has been the Norwegian Minister of For-
eign Affairs since February 1946, a leading figure in Norway's acceptance of NATO
and participation in it, and an important moderate within the Norwegian Labor party.
The book is a thesis in history, written in 1929, now published with the assistance of a
group of trade-unions and other organizations as a tribute to him on his sixtieth birth-
day. Part of it has appeared previously in *Det norske arbeiderpartis historie, 1887-1937*,
edited by Halvdan Koht (1937, 1939). Lange treats a critical decade during which the dif-
ferences between liberal and socialist began fully to be understood, and the Labor party
broadened its base of operations and became a political organization of national im-
portance. International cooperation among Scandinavian socialists is given attention,
but the emphasis is on the national, the practical, and the organizational aspects of the
party. Taking precedence over everything else during this period was the question of
the union with Sweden. Only with the union's dissolution in 1905 could the Labor
party in Norway devote full attention to domestic economic, social, and political issues.

University of California, Riverside

ERNST EKMAN

DER PREUSSISCHE STAAT UND DIE JUDEN. Part 1, DIE ZEIT DES GROSSEN KURFÜRSTEN UND FRIEDRICHS I. Volume I, DARSTELLUNG; Volume II, AKTEN. By *Selma Stern*. [Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts, Number 7, Parts 1 and 2.] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1962. Pp. xx, 159; 546.) Here is a modest and somewhat repetitious volume of 159 pages of discussion followed by one of 540 pages of documents to which there are numerous references in Volume I, with supplementary footnotes and other bibliographical references, although there is no other bibliography here. Instead of an index, there is a register of the hundreds of persons mentioned, and in Volume II a census of Jews listed as living in each of several cities in or about 1700. The source of each document printed is given, often with a one-line indication of the subject and nature of the request or instruction concerned. Two similar volumes are to cover the period to the death of Frederick the Great. The author is the widow of the late Professor Eugen Taeubler of the University of Cincinnati; both were *émigrés*. The work was begun in 1920. The author dwells less on the inequities suffered by the German Jews as victims of prejudice and discrimination, especially in the matter of double and usually arbitrary taxation and regulation, than on their usefulness to the Elector and king. They were under his special protection, for which of course they had to pay. Here therefore was a never-failing source of cash income, giving the sovereign greater independence. Politically also he was usually at war with the Estates, and the towns, and the guilds, which clung stubbornly to their traditional "freedoms" and monopolies, of which he sought as tenaciously to deprive them. Especially in bringing money into the country, and trading in imported luxury goods in exchange for German products that they bought locally for export, the author says the Jews were useful in quickening the economic life of the country. Some prospered. None seems to have dreamed of revolt. Even the itinerant merchant found customers high and low, breaking the monopoly of the town merchants' organization on buying and selling in their area.

University of Wisconsin

CHESTER V. EASUM

THE HOLSTEIN PAPERS. Volume IV, CORRESPONDENCE, 1897-1909. Edited by *Norman Rich* and *M. H. Fisher*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1963. Pp. 655. \$22.50.) This final volume of the series and the second of the correspondence finds the indefatigable old gentleman still drafting his lucid and forceful memoranda for the Chancellor to within two months of his own death. There are almost 300 Holstein items in this volume, of a total of 597, including some diary entries. Eulenburg letters quickly disappear, and Hatzfeldt's contribution dwindles, the most important correspondents by number of items now being Bülow (over 75) and Maximilian Harden (over 80). In foreign policy the volume contributes most to the problem of Anglo-German relations, where Holstein's policy of rapprochement is completely frustrated. In fact, the general impression is of the limitations on Holstein's influence, hemmed in as he is by William II, Bülow, Tirpitz, and world imperialism. In both foreign and internal affairs the strongest emphasis of the material is on the political role of Kaiser William II, secondarily on the relationship between Holstein and Bülow and the problematical personality of the latter. The Harden letters supply piquant details of the Moltke-Eulenburg trials and add to the material on Bülow and the Kaiser. The great value of the publication of the papers is that, along with the publications of Professor Rogge, they make a serious assessment of Holstein practicable at long last. Although the precise weighing of his political influence will long be contended, it is already abundantly clear that he was one of the very few men of upright and forceful character in the Wilhelminian structure. That in the end he regretted never having accepted public responsibility (as State Secretary) was his personal tragedy and symbolic for the period.

Expertly edited and fluently translated, these papers offer the novice a fresh and exciting glimpse of high politics and key personalities, and for the serious scholar they take a substantial place among the major sources for the Wilhelminian era.

University of Illinois

J. ALDEN NICHOLS

STANOWISKO NIEMIEC NA PIERWSZEJ KONFERENCJI HASKIEJ (1899) [The Position of Germany at the First Hague Convention (1899)]. By *Andrzej Józef Kamiński*. [Studium Niemcoznawcze Instytutu Zachodniego, Number 4.] (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni. 1962. Pp. xiv, 411. Zł. 75.) All but the two introductory chapters on the antecedents of the First Hague Peace Conference are the outcome of a decade of painstaking research. It is evident from first glance that this treatise is built upon an exceptionally large variety of multilingual sources. German diplomatic actions, mass movements, views relating to the topics of the conference and its aftermath are clearly depicted by the author, with Wilhelm II the focal point. The backbone of the volume is Chapter v, a factual and fair-minded description of debates from which the historic Pacific Settlement of International Disputes stemmed. Mr. Kamiński's approach differs entirely from the once popular theory on Germany's objectives. He has, therefore, rejected the common anti-German phraseology and, instead, quoted authentic German personages, groups, and institutions to illustrate that country's expansive efforts to which even the Hague Conference was thoroughly subordinated. This chief characteristic of contemporary German diplomacy is proven through primary sources. Some high lights of the book are condensed in a well-styled German résumé. The bibliography keeps a healthy balance between pros and cons. Unfortunately, though there are innumerable names and other data used, no index appears at the end of this important work. Because of the specific nature of the research with its heavy emphasis on Germany, it was repeatedly my impression that none but German historical forces played any role in the peace movement at the turn of the twentieth century. In order to prevent such a reaction it would have been advisable to outline the international constellation by illuminating such problems as the economic and military rivalry of European Great Powers and the British encirclement of Germany as the real background of the whole diplomatic history of international arbitration.

Library of Congress

FRANCIS S. WAGNER

JULIKRISE UND KRIEGSAUSBRUCH 1914: EINE DOKUMENTENSAMMLUNG. Volume I. Edited with an introduction by *Immanuel Geiss*. Foreword by *Fritz Fischer*. (Hanover: Verlag für Literatur und Zeitgeschichte GMBH. 1963. Pp. 442. DM 38.) This book may be considered an adjunct to Fritz Fischer's *Griff nach der Weltmacht* (see *AHR*, LXVIII [Jan. 1963], 443), the first two chapters of which were highly critical of German foreign policy in the years before 1914. In his introduction, Dr. Geiss, who was a pupil of Fischer, notes that until the appearance of Fischer's book, the massive work of Luigi Albertini on *The Origins of the War of 1914* was either ignored by German historians or its conclusions were misrepresented by them. In general they followed the line of *Der Ausbruch des Weltkrieges* (1939) by Alfred von Wegerer, who was not a professional historian and who did not hesitate to omit documents that ran counter to his thesis of German innocence. Even Gerhard Ritter, who had admitted that German writing on "war guilt" between the two wars was "all too apologetic" and "needed some revision," in his own account of the crisis of July 1914 in the final chapter of his *Staatskunst und Kriegshandwerk* (1960), has, according to Geiss, made some "obvious mistakes." Fischer's book has stirred up considerable controversy in Germany, but few persons are in position to follow its details, for there are about 5,000 documents for July 1914 in English, French, German, Italian, Russian, and Serbian scattered through publications now practically unobtainable and found only in large libraries. Geiss has selected about

1,100 of these documents for the period June 28–August 4, 1914 (396 are reproduced in this first volume) and referred in footnotes to about 400 more, so that any German interested in the outbreak of the First World War can read the most important documents for himself. The selection has been skillful and objective, and the translations into German are quite satisfactory. The footnotes are strictly factual and explanatory, free from any effort to influence the opinion of the reader. Geiss is to be congratulated on producing an excellent book, which will be useful in history seminars everywhere. In his introduction the editor adduces evidence to show that German soldiers were not averse to preventive war, while the section on “Austria-Hungary and the Principle of Self-Determination” follows the argument of R. W. Seton-Watson and Hermann Wendel rather than the anti-Serbian and anti-Russian views recently expressed by Hans Uebersberger in *Österreich zwischen Russland und Serbien* (1958).

University of Chicago

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

FREIHEIT FÜR DIMITROFF: DER INTERNATIONALE KAMPF GEGEN DIE PROVOKATORISCHE REICHSTAGSBRANDSTIFTUNG UND DEN LEIPZIGER PROZESS. By *Ernstgert Kalbe*. [Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Geschichte der europäischen Volksdemokratien an der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig, Number 1.] (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1963. Pp. 359. DM 19.80.) Herr Kalbe's book discusses the *Reichstag* fire, the trial of the Communists accused of setting this fire, and the international repercussions of these events. Primary emphasis is placed on the nature and significance of the international efforts to aid the defendants. Unfortunately, the author scorns what he would term “bourgeois objectivity.” As Professor Basil Spuru indicates in his introduction, the purpose of the work is to “serve the ideology of the German working class and the policy of its party,” and it adheres to this principle. For this reason, despite the massive documentation and the impressive research that went into the book, it must be classed with works of propaganda rather than history. The author devotes most of his effort to proving, to his own satisfaction, a number of theses that others might find debatable. In his eyes, the responsibility of Göring for the *Reichstag* fire is still clear. He dismisses as Neo-Nazi assaults on truth all recent evidence that throws doubt on Nazi culpability for the fire itself. He sees the struggle over the fire as crucial in the eventual defeat of Hitler. Far more important, he portrays the entire wave of revulsion against the Nazis that developed in the world between 1933 and 1945 as being primarily the outcome of the agitation carried out by Communist parties in the face of the open or covert opposition of the leaders of the ruling political groups in the bourgeois world, whether socialist or nonsocialist. Anti-Nazi activity in the West is portrayed as halfhearted measures adopted only to prevent the masses from falling entirely under the leadership of the Communists. Only a handful of intellectuals and some intellectual Leftist groups are recognized as being sincerely hostile to Hitler, whose regime Kalbe describes as the last stage of German finance capitalism. The failure of the court to convict Dimitroff and his fellows is interpreted as the result of Nazi fear of the world's masses united in their support of Communism. Dimitroff is painted as a stalwart hero of democracy who abhorred limitations on personal freedom and judicial injustice, while his captors are flayed for inhumanity and cynicism. These last charges, while true in themselves, seem ironic in view of the similar and far more vicious parodies on justice that were perpetrated under Dimitroff's authority when he became the Communist boss of Bulgaria. In fact, throughout, the striking similarities of the Nazi tactics that the author denounces to those adopted by the regime he so vigorously supports suggest either hypocrisy or blindness on his part. This book's most valuable contributions are its bibliography and footnotes, which lead one, at least in theory, since much of the material cited is not available to Western scholars, to valuable sources and presents the

current Communist line on the *Reichstag* fire. There is also some new factual information, mostly of tertiary importance, in the text, but these items are hard to find in the sea of Communist jargon that surrounds them. Repetition, half-truths, warped perspectives, and unsupported statements abound. In sum, despite his hard work, the author makes little or no contribution to scholarship.

University of Massachusetts

HAROLD J. GORDON, JR.

HITLERS WEISUNGEN FÜR DIE KRIEGFÜHRUNG, 1939-1945: DOKUMENTE DES OBERKOMMANDOS DER WEHRMACHT. Edited by *Walther Hubatsch*. (Frankfurt am Main: Bernard & Graefe Verlag für Wehrwesen. 1962. Pp. 330. DM 39.) With this excellent definitive publication of the texts of Hitler's war directives, Professor Hubatsch has materially contributed to the source collection on World War II history. The volume is the product of meticulous scholarship, thorough knowledge of the history and documentation of the great conflict, and high standards of editorship. The brief but very informative introduction should prove especially useful in that it clarifies many questions pertaining to the origin and classification of the *Weisungen* and related orders. In view of the many written accounts of the war, Hubatsch justified limiting his publication to the texts proper, including, of course, the critical apparatus. He considers it to be a documentary addition to the *OKW Kriegstagebuch*, which Professor Schramm is publishing.

University of Colorado

WILLARD ALLEN FLETCHER

THE ORIGIN OF THE WEST GERMAN REPUBLIC. By *Peter H. Merkl*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xviii, 269. Cloth \$5.50, paper \$2.75.) The present work is an able analysis of the constitution-making process in 1948-1949, based on all the available German and Allied sources. Although much of this ground has been covered before, notably in John F. Golay's admirable monograph, *The Founding of the Federal Republic of Germany* (1958), Peter Merkl has been able to add new information on the matter. Whereas Golay analyzed each of the main ingredients of the Bonn Constitution separately, Merkl has tried to identify the background of the Constitution and the political, social, and ideological forces that affected its making. Both scholars come to essentially the same conclusions regarding the nature of the document and the manner in which it was created. Professor Carl J. Friedrich, who gave his blessings to this study by furnishing it with an introduction, contends that it should go far to discredit the legend (widespread in Germany) that the Bonn Constitution was imposed by the occupation powers. While the legend, like most legends, oversimplifies and overstates the case, Merkl's study nevertheless shows, with meticulous documentation, how Allied pressure and occasionally outright, "heavy-handed interference" affected the constitutional convention. This was particularly true of the federal elements of the future government that the Allies were determined to incorporate into the document. The French were primarily motivated by considerations of security, believing that a loose confederation of German states would be less dangerous to France, while the Americans, although more flexible than the French, tended to go along with them, believing that federalism would ensure democracy. Both of these theories were largely erroneous and obsolescent in the light of the radically changed political conditions in Europe after the Second World War, and the Allied zeal for the decentralization of Germany for obvious reasons of self-interest had unfortunate psychological repercussions in Germany. The SPD leaders, in particular, protested vehemently against the "repeated and detailed interventions of the Occupying Powers," at the same time accusing them of unfair partiality for and support of the political program of the rival party, the CDU-CSU. Even though the Allied interventions, at three stages of the deliberations, did not

result in substantial changes in the draft, they forcefully reminded the Germans of the limitations on their freedom of action. The author aptly points out that in the poisoned atmosphere in the days of the Weimar Republic such conduct by the occupying powers would have meant the kiss of death to the Constitution and the government based on it. But the stability of what was intended to be a provisional regime—already it has outlasted the period of the Weimar Republic—shows that the Bonn Constitution is based on firmer ground. Times and people, especially the Germans, had changed, and most, if not all, had learned lessons from the past. Moreover, the federal character of the Constitution is certainly in harmony with German history and tradition and reflects the diverse regional and cultural interests of the people. There was in those days of resurrection from chaos and pressure from the outside (Soviet Russia) a spirit of give and take between Germans and Allies, and between the German leaders themselves. The Bonn Constitution is the product of such levelheaded give and take, of genuine compromises freely made and in good faith in the face of existing realities. The book is lucidly organized and well written and is furnished with numerous and informative notes. The bibliography is fairly complete, though less so for the French and British side of the story. The complete text of the Basic Law in English translation is given in Appendix II.

American University

CARL G. ANTHON

HANS KUDLICH (1823-1917): VERSUCH EINER HISTORISCH-POLITISCHEN BIOGRAPHIE. By *Friedrich Prinz*. [Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum, Number 11.] (Munich: Verlag Robert Lerche, 1962. Pp. x, 214. Cloth DM 30, paper DM 25.) Mr. Prinz's political biography of Hans Kudlich, the great initiator of the emancipation of the Austrian peasants, will easily become the standard work on a very rewarding subject. Kudlich, born in 1823, became the youngest deputy of the *Reichstag* in Vienna, in July 1848, and when he died in Hoboken, in November 1917, he was presumably the last survivor of the active German liberals of the revolutionary period. Compelled to flee after the dissolution of the *Reichstag* of Kremsier, he then supported revolutionary activities in Germany. After he had completed his medical studies in Switzerland, he emigrated to the USA in 1853 where the sentence to death by hanging for allegedly treasonable activities reached the originally moderate liberal as a last farewell from the old country, in 1854. Prinz's study ends with Kudlich's rather disappointing impressions of a visit to Austria in 1872 after he was pardoned in 1866. He brings out very well the fact that the actions and reflections of this noble liberal with his minor errors of judgment and brave deeds and convictions truly led to America's gain and Austria's loss. More than that, this small biography offers one of the most discriminating studies of the parliamentary aspects of the Austrian revolution known to me. Sophisticated as well as sane in judgment, in full command of the literature that is not merely quoted but digested, Prinz has made a major contribution to Austrian historiography. His intention to publish a second volume on Kudlich's life in the USA deserves full support.

Rutgers University

ROBERT A. KANN

L'ALUN DE ROME, XV*-XIX* SIÈCLE. By *Jean Delumeau*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI* Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Ports, routes, trafics, Volume XIII.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1962. Pp. 352.) On connaît l'importance de l'alun dans l'industrie drapière de l'ancien régime. Indispensable à la teinturerie, très employé dans la tannerie et d'un usage courant en médecine, ce mordant avait été fourni pendant le moyen âge par les mines du proche Orient dont l'exploitation et le commerce des produits étaient assumés par de grandes compagnies génoises, ainsi que les travaux de Mesdames Heers et Liagre l'ont récemment rappelé. L'événement que con-

stitua en 1462 la découverte du gisement de Tolfa, dans les États du pape, au moment où l'alun oriental se faisait rare par suite des progrès de l'invasion turque, bouleversa les données du problème que posait le commerce des aluns dans la chrétienté occidentale. Voici plus de cinquante ans, G. Zippel établissait, sur les renseignements fournis par la "Caisse de la Croisade" à laquelle le Saint-Siège affecta les produits de l'exploitation, une courbe du rendement de celle-ci: il paraissait en résulter que, dès le début du xvi^e siècle déjà, l'importance du commerce de l'alun pontifical serait allée en déclinant. Mais faute d'avoir connu cette source incomparable que constituent les comptes des fermiers des mines présentés à la Chambre apostolique et contrôlés de très près, ses conclusions étaient erronées. Et l'excellent ouvrage de M. Delumeau nous en apporte la preuve indiscutable. Grâce à la découverte dans les archives d'État de Rome, et non dans celles du Vatican, de cette comptabilité continue de plus de trois siècles de la fabrication et de la vente des aluns de Tolfa, le savant professeur de l'Université de Rennes a pu nous donner un livre exhaustif qui, non seulement retrace les phases de l'exploitation romaine, mais replace le commerce de l'alun dans la conjoncture internationale des xv^e-xviii^e siècles. Il en ressort que l'apogée de l'activité de Tolfa se situe au milieu du xvi^e siècle, que la concurrence, d'abord inquiétante, de l'alun espagnol de Mazarron a pu être vaincue avant la fin du xvi^e siècle et qu'il faut attendre le xvii^e siècle pour constater une certaine décadence, due partiellement à de nouvelles concurrences, notamment celle de l'alun liégeois puis de l'alun anglais. Ce n'est toutefois qu'à la fin du xviii^e siècle que l'entreprise de Tolfa cessa d'être rentable. Non moins importantes apparaissent les conclusions de Delumeau en ce qui concerne les liaisons entre l'exploitation de l'alun romain et le commerce maritime de Livourne, de Venise, de Saint-Malo, ou de Marseille, ainsi qu'avec le développement de l'industrie textile tant italienne que flamande ou française. Sans doute, la richesse de sa documentation statistique qui lui permet de résoudre les problèmes financiers de l'exploitation et du trafic et de mesurer avec une exactitude parfaite l'évolution de l'exportation de l'alun, ne lui a cependant pas fourni de grandes précisions sur le personnel occupé (lequel n'a jamais atteint le millier d'ouvriers), sur son salaire ou sur son organisation. Mais, en dépit de cette lacune, son ouvrage demeurera parmi les contributions les plus originales et les plus suggestives à la connaissance de l'histoire économique de l'ancien régime.

Université de Liège

PAUL HARSIN

RICERCHER SUL MERCANTE DEL SETTECENTO. Volume II, FRANCESCO TRIONFI: CAPITALISTA E MAGNATE D'ANCONA. By *Alberto Caracciolo*. [Università degli Studi di Urbino, Facoltà di Economia e Commercio, Number 2.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, Editore. 1962. Pp. viii, 115.) In spite of its establishment as a *porto franco*, Ancona in the eighteenth century was, admittedly, little more than a minor provincial town in what Francesco Beccatini called, perhaps somewhat unjustly, the second worst-governed state (after Turkey) in all Europe; and it is true that the local "big shot," Francesco Trionfi, never set foot out of the town in which he was born. But in light of the many recent studies of the Papal States before the Revolution, this general-store-to-frescoed-ballroom story, which Alberto Caracciolo has put together after a diligent search through half the public and private archives of Italy, takes on wider significance. For it apparently lends support to Enzo Piscitelli's thesis that the later reform movement was "the fruit of the enlightened mind of Pius VI," rather than to Luigi Dal Pane's view that it arose as "the result of exigencies and convergent forces" within the society itself. A clever merchant, at any rate, who takes advantage of a favorable moment to extend his commercial relations as far as Trieste, London, and even America, but who buys his way into public office in order to strangle his competitors and evade taxes, can hardly be expected to come up with disinterested pro-

posals for the reform of the social order—and neither, for that matter, can one who tries his hand in manufacturing everything from bullets to soap, but then puts half his fortune into a luxurious castle and a title of nobility, or one who buys copies of Galiani and Carli for his well-stocked and lavishly decorated library (but were the pages cut?), but who then pulls strings in Rome to obtain *privative* (monopolies) for himself and liquidates his commercial and industrial interests to prevent his sons from soiling their hands in them. Such biographies tell much more about the real business world of the time than has so far been gleaned from statute books and the writings of political economists.

University of Chicago

ERIC W. COCHRANE

DIPLOMAT UNDER STRESS: VISCONTI-VENOSTA AND THE CRISIS OF JULY, 1870. By *S. William Halperin*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1963. Pp. xi, 196. \$5.00.) Of the many diplomats who were "under stress" in 1870, Italy's Foreign Minister, Emilio Visconti-Venosta, has largely escaped the attention of historians. Professor Halperin has now remedied the oversight in this clear account of Italy's role in the crisis of July 1870. Amid rapidly deteriorating Franco-Prussian relations, Visconti-Venosta attempted to avert war by resurrecting the Aosta candidacy for the Spanish throne. When the French seemed bent on war, he then turned his efforts to the creation of a league of neutrals. In addition to being in the dark about true French objectives in early phases of the crisis, he was also plagued by Left-wing criticism and by uncertainties arising from the private diplomacy of Victor Emmanuel. Halperin's conclusion that in a difficult situation he "served his country well" appears indisputable. The narrative rests on unpublished diplomatic correspondence in various foreign ministry archives and on Italian newspapers and chamber proceedings. Specialists in nineteenth-century diplomacy will find this excellent monograph an interesting addition to the literature. Indeed, Visconti-Venosta's entire career deserves comparable investigation. Possible criticisms are relatively minor as a few samples will indicate. A study of this extent could have been offered to the public at a much more reasonable price. A tenth of the narrative, Chapter vi, is hardly needed to convey the fact and intensity of unsuccessful Left-wing attempts for an extensive chamber debate on foreign policy. Some readers, though not I, may perhaps feel that Halperin is excessively critical throughout of Visconti-Venosta's inclinations to procrastinate. When General Govone delayed in leaving for Leghorn to consult the Duke of Aosta, the Foreign Minister is appropriately scored by the author for not being more emphatic in getting prompt action. However, we never learn why the delay occurred, and the narrative itself does not support the observation that the general's conduct was "lackadaisical."

University of Oklahoma

BRISON D. GOOCH

IL PARTITO SOCIALISTA ITALIANO NEL PERIODO DELLA NEUTRALITÀ, 1914-1915. By *Leo Valiani*. [Istituto Giangiacomo Feltrinelli.] (Milan: Feltrinelli Editore. 1963. Pp. 135. L. 1,000.) This volume is not a general review of the Italian Socialist party's attitude toward intervention in World War I after the outbreak of the war in August 1914. It is, rather, an analysis of the subtle and differing positions taken by various Socialist leaders on the question of neutrality versus intervention. It presumes that the reader already has a good knowledge of the general story and an existing acquaintanceship with the principal protagonists. Its major contribution lies in the use of documentary materials as yet unpublished: the collected papers of such leaders as Turati, Bissolati, and Rigola, the unpublished diaries of the German Social Democrats Eduard David and Albert Südekum, which illuminate the latter's mission to Italy at

the end of August 1914. Valiani quotes extensively from these and other unpublished sources. A most interesting contribution is the publication in an appendix of the personal papers of Alceste Della Seta, a member of the Executive Bureau (*direzione*) of the PSI from 1912 to the end of 1914, who was very close to Benito Mussolini. Letters of Mussolini to Della Seta are here published for the first time, but still do not answer the unresolved issues relating to Mussolini's conversion from an advocate of absolute neutrality to intervention. Dr. Valiani handles his material in an exemplary fashion, revealing a thorough command of the literature and sources in all the major languages, English, French, German, and Russian, as well as his own. If any single conclusion can be drawn from this revealing study it is that a common ideological background, common intellectual experiences, and common party identifications give little indication of the position individual men will take on a particular problem. Even when they vote united in Parliament they often do so for different reasons, and these reasons do not necessarily remain stable.

University of Connecticut

NORMAN KOGAN

THE ITALIAN LABOR MOVEMENT. By *Daniel L. Horowitz*. [Wertheim Publications in Industrial Relations.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 356. \$7.50.) A companion study to Val R. Lorwin's *The French Labor Movement* (1954), this volume was sponsored by the Harvard University project for comparative studies of foreign trade-unions and was brought to completion under the Inter-University Study of Labor Problems in Economic Development. It appears at an auspicious moment, as it helps to elucidate some aspects of the changes that have been taking place in Italy since the "opening to the Left" in 1962. Mr. Horowitz, who has served as a labor attaché in the United States Foreign Service, began his study in northern Italy in 1950, where he traveled widely, absorbing the atmosphere within which the competitive trade-union and Leftist political forces vied for support and learning at first hand how the trade-union and political organizations functioned. The author's approach is primarily that of the historian. He sets forth a synthesized picture of the politics, social structure, and economics of Italy because he is well aware that in Italy there is a closer relationship between political history and the development of labor organizations than in the United States. The first five of his nine chapters describe the pre-Fascist history of the labor movement, taking up such topics as the "climate" and "political atmosphere" of trade-unionism, and the ways in which it was influenced by socialism and the Church. The footnotes and bibliography (though often marred by misspelled Italian words) suggest that the author is conversant with most of the essential literature. He is, however, unduly brief in his discussion of labor developments during the Fascist era. Consultation of my *Mussolini's Enemies* (1961) would have enabled the author to say something about the activities in Paris and elsewhere of labor leaders who were forced to flee from Fascist Italy. Horowitz refers erroneously to Nello Rosselli (rather than to his brother, Carlo) as the leader of the anti-Fascist movement, Justice and Liberty. And in his sometimes too rapid survey of postliberation developments, he fails to point out the important fact that the referendum of June 2, 1946, decided the fate of the monarchy. The last chapters of this study are especially perceptive. They deal primarily with the relationship of the labor movement to the challenge of Communism and describe the roles of the Communist dominated CGIL, the Socialist oriented UIL, and the Catholic backed CISL. The author believes that Italian trade-unionism has reflected the basic instability of that country's institutional relationships. The changes in the economic and social structure, in political focus, and in the trade-union movement itself, he says, have thus far not been sufficient to secure a consensus in Italian society. Nevertheless, he is optimistic about the future. The historic mission of the Italian working class

to transform Italian society may be achieved as a consequence of economic progress and related pluralistic Center political forces rather than by revolution.

Vanderbilt University

CHARLES F. DELZELL

JOHN CAPODISTRIAS AND THE MODERN GREEK STATE. By *William P. Kaldis*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Department of History, University of Wisconsin. 1963. Pp. 126. \$3.00.) It would have been pleasant to have been able to welcome this book as the long-awaited definitive study of Capodistrias. True, this book does not announce this aim, but, all the same, the material is largely biographical. Although Mr. Kaldis states that he based his story on material collected chiefly in the Greek State Archives, he has nothing new to say and is content to repeat the government's information in their official newspaper, already known. Lack of discussion of the real problems underlying his subject, and of any survival of Capodistrias' work in the administrative arrangements during King Otto's reign, deprives the volume of any claim to an important place in the bibliography of modern Greek studies.

Athens, Greece

DOMNA N. DONTAS

REFORM AND INSURRECTION IN RUSSIAN POLAND, 1856-1865. By *R. F. Leslie*. [University of London Historical Studies, Number 13.] (London: University of London, the Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1963. Pp. ix, 272. \$7.20.) As in his first book, *Polish Politics and the Revolution of November 1830* (*AHR*, LXII [Jan. 1957], 464), R. F. Leslie presents an interpretation of Polish history in sharp contrast to the narrowly nationalistic view more familiar to us. Beginning after the Revolution of 1830, Leslie carefully describes the disputes between the radical and the conservative Polish *émigrés*, the abortive revolution of 1846 in Galicia, and the further failures in Poznań and Galicia during the 1848 Revolution. He thereafter focuses entirely on Congress Poland. After analyzing its political and especially its agrarian problems during 1832-1856, he shows how defeat in the Crimean War and the crisis arising from emancipation of the serfs weakened Russian control. The Poles responded by demonstrating en masse in Warsaw during early 1861 for political concessions. The resulting violence spurred Alexander II to accept Wielopolski's argument that a meaningful settlement demanded the slackening of Russian absolutism. Leslie asserts that the Polish moderates were satisfied thereby, but not the radical, conspiratorial groups that arose late in 1861. The conflict worsened during 1862, as Wielopolski found that conciliatory steps by Russia did not staunch the radical tide, which, as it grew stronger, compelled (according to Leslie) the moderates to prove their patriotism by joining it. Wielopolski thereupon decided to break the radicals by conscripting the young townsmen; this forced the radicals to act, and fighting broke out at various points in January 1863. The insurgents could neither gain foreign diplomatic support nor extend the revolt into the Ukraine and eastern Lithuania. Guerrilla fighting continued into 1864, but was stamped out by harsh measures. This synopsis can barely suggest the nuggets of data presented on Russian policy, the Polish gentry and magnates, the Jewish problem, the diplomatic repercussions of the revolt, and, above all, the agrarian question. But Leslie's views reflect a pragmatic realism and emphasis on class conflict that lead him to underestimate the intensity of Polish nationalism and thus of Polish hatred for Russian rule. Finding no "real" reason for the revolt, he treats it as something that "should" not have happened; although effective dialectics, this argument is hardly good history.

Carnegie Institute of Technology

LEONARD BUSHKOFF

STUDIA Z HISTORII POWSTANIA WIELKOPOLSKIEGO 1918/1919 [Studies in the History of the Uprising in Greater Poland, 1918-1919]. By *Tadeusz Grygier et al.*

Edited by *Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk*. [Dzieje Polskiej Granicy Zachodniej, Number 2.] (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni. 1962. Pp. 197. Zł. 35.) This is a collection of four studies dealing mostly with marginal aspects of the Posen and Silesian uprisings against Germany following the First World War, in which Polish historians have taken much interest in recent years (in studies by Gomolec, Grot, Markiewicz, Pajewski, Kubiak, Łozowski, Popiołek, Jędruszczak, and others). The book opens with a rather disjointed study by Alfred Kucner, in which he attempts to describe the attitude of Prussian Poland toward the revolution in Germany in 1918 and the relationship of that province to the new Polish state, as well as the military preparations and anti-Polish agitation by the local German population. Except for demonstrating an astounding lack of understanding of the international situation of the period and grossly misconstruing the attitude and policies of the Great Powers and the Paris Peace Conference toward Poland, Kucner adds nothing of importance to our knowledge of the subject. Confining himself to Polish sources only, he has used even these rather sparingly. In the second study, based on the Polish documents in the archives of the Poznań Military District, Tadeusz Grygier depicts in great detail the political and military situation on the Polish side of the western Posen front, without, however, relating it to the general situation. The same author appraises in the next study "The First Silesian Uprising in the Political Calculation of the Poznań Insurgents." In conclusion, Stanisław Kubiak discusses, mainly on the basis of the press of the period and the German parliamentary debates, the anti-Polish policy of "the German reaction," the negotiations of the representatives of the Polish Supreme People's Council with the German authorities, and some other aspects of German policy during the first phase of the Posen uprising. All in all, this is a disappointing book.

University of Hawaii

ZYGMUNT J. GASIOROWSKI

THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN RUSSIA, 1801-1917. By *Sergei Pushkarev*. Translated by *Robert H. McNeal* and *Tova Yedlin*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1963. Pp. xxiii, 512. \$8.75.) Sergei Pushkarev's *The Emergence of Modern Russia, 1801-1917*, is a new, revised, enlarged, and expertly translated version of his *Rossia v XIX Veke* published in 1956. Over four hundred large pages carry the narrative from the accession of Alexander I to "the World War and the opening of the Revolution." The Great Reforms serve conveniently as the major divide, with the author discussing in separate chapters the politics, society and economics, culture, and foreign policy of Russia in the two halves of his time span. In addition, there are the epilogue, a translator's preface, an introduction, a glossary, an extensive selected bibliography, a huge and very useful name index, a subject index, and several maps and charts. The narrative is well organized, sensitive, and extremely rich in facts, with only a relatively few and minor mistakes or slips. The book is solid, sound, and readable. Pushkarev's viewpoint may be best described as Russian patriotic. Foreign relations are presented entirely from the Russian standpoint. In dealing with Russian internal affairs and with the evolution of the country in general, the author is repeatedly, indeed incessantly, critical of those numerous pessimistic, ignorant, or Marxist writers who underestimated both the achievements and the potentialities of tsarist Russia. To be sure, Pushkarev is by no means simply an apologist of the *ancien régime* of the Romanovs. To the contrary, he emphasizes change and possibilities of change in prerevolutionary Russia. His heroes are such reforming statesmen as Kiselev, Iakov I. Rostovtsev—the discussion of Rostovtsev is lyric—Witte, and Stolypin. And the author does his best to distribute judiciously the blame for ultimate failure among the tsars who did not proceed far enough with reform, their frequently misguided and bungling ministers, and the immature opposition that would not wait for gradual change, but turned to revolution.

Still, Pushkarev is too concerned with apologetics. For example, he repeatedly makes much of the fact that the Russian peasant actually had more land on the average than Western peasants. Yet, having scored that point, the author fails to analyze sufficiently the obstacles to and the prospects for a modernization of agriculture in Russia, thus leaving this crucial subject in the air. Instead he turns to other aspects of the Russian situation that certain hostile critics have failed to recognize, such as the high patriotism of Nicholas II or the sterling integrity of his ministers. In fighting opponents, some of them hardly worth notice, Pushkarev tends to slight the depth and richness of his subject. But, to be sure, every point of view has its limitations as well as its advantages. Pushkarev has succeeded in producing a highly useful volume for students of Russian history.

University of California, Berkeley

NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY

DIE NATIONALE GEDANKENWELT DER DEKABRISTEN. By *Hans Lemberg*. [Kölner historische Abhandlungen, Number 7.] (Köln Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1963. Pp. x, 168. DM 16.50.) It is useful to have this compilation of Decembrist views on such matters as the national language, national history, the national state, and the problem of nationalities. But a compilation does not make a book with a sustained and clearly defined approach and thesis. The conclusions at which the author arrives—that the Decembrists partook extensively of the currents of national enthusiasm released by 1812 and that they were the carriers of a phase in the history of Russian nationalism—really pose more problems than they solve. The most basic of these is how, for purposes of such an investigation as this, the Decembrists can be distinguished and separated from the prevailing intellectual and cultural trends of Russian society in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. True, there was a community of experience (the Napoleonic Wars), of education, and of age that makes it possible to speak of a Decembrist generation, but, as the author himself makes clear, not every member of the Decembrist generation was a Decembrist, nor was there necessarily an identity of beliefs and political intentions among the Decembrists proper. Why then go to some lengths to justify the definition of the Decembrists as a generation (*Generationseinheit*), and then restrict discussion almost exclusively to those of its members who came before the government's commission of inquiry? It seems that the reason for this is to be able to write about Decembrist national thought and attitudes as a discrete phenomenon and also to include, on occasion, such people as A. D. Ulybyshev who is not, strictly speaking, a Decembrist at all and is yet cited extensively. Aside from pointing up the continuity of certain national motifs in Russian thought from the eighteenth century to the Slavophiles, this work makes no significant contribution to the history of Russian nationalism and its origins or to the history of Russian thought in general. Its main results could easily have been set forth in an article. What we have here is a preliminary study for a work that will examine the role played in the history of Russian nationalism by the entire generation of which the Decembrists were a part.

University of California, Los Angeles

HANS ROGGER

FINANSOVOE POLOZHENIE ROSSII V GODY PЕРВОI МИРОВОI ВОИНЫ (1914–1917) [The Financial Position of Russia during the First World War (1914–1917)]. By *A. L. Sidorov*. (Moscow: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences. 1960. Pp. 578.) This book by the leading exponent of Leninist interpretations of history is devoted to the theme that Russia was dominated by the imperialist West until the Bolsheviks led the revolt that established its economic independence. Although Sidorov holds that the amount of prewar foreign capital investment in Russia has been exaggerated, he main-

tains that "tsarism, with the support of international capital in financing," played the leading role in Russia's economic life. The imperialist grip on Russia was enormously strengthened by the war, while England replaced France as the chief creditor. The failure of the provisional government resulted from its becoming merely an appendage of the imperialist powers, who were more interested in opposing the Bolsheviks than in building up the economic potential—or even the fighting capacity—of Russia. Most of the book is devoted to detailed criticism, with many lacunae, of figures given in earlier works, whether by Soviet or by foreign writers, with special animus against Soviet economists, who have neglected to use the figures put forth by the Soviet delegation at Genoa, and Soviet historians who have failed to set the economists right. American financial aid, which the tsarist government had sought in 1916 and on which the provisional government had pinned its hopes, is represented as having been insignificant.

Brooklyn College

JESSE D. CLARKSON

PRICES AND PRODUCTION OF MACHINERY IN THE SOVIET UNION, 1928–1958. By *Richard Moorsteen*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 498. \$15.00.) Produced for the RAND Corporation, this study of pertinent statistical data seeks actually to do more than gauge trends in the prices and output of Soviet machinery in a given period. The frame of investigation includes the problem of the rapid development of Soviet investment, which, as Moorsteen notes, turns actually on the ability to supply machinery. More broadly, it embraces issues involved in developing quantitative indicators that could help the exploration of such dimly known areas in a planned economy as national income, capital formation, and price policy. Of course, other investigators are equally concerned with these problems. Moorsteen utilizes their work, but takes a broader time segment, the years that most likely will prove the most crucial in Soviet economic history, and concentrates on prices, gathering them as raw data from all available Soviet publications, subjecting them to exhaustive analysis, and then producing, as a central contribution, a new series of price and production indexes. Only a very small part of the volume is commentary; most of it is devoted to tables, appendixes, and explanation of method. While remaining inconclusive on the meaningfulness of Soviet machine prices, the author feels, to a point, that price indexes have the same usefulness in respect to the Soviet economy as they have in "free" economies. More than this, he finds similarities, due to more than chance, "between the development of costs, reckoned in Soviet fashion and costs generated by the market economy of the United States." For the historian the most interesting specific conclusions that Moorsteen draws are that, in 1937 prices, Soviet machine output increased ninefold in the period 1927–1937, that it achieved a rate in 1958 that was 90 per cent above that of 1950, and that this was 4.8 times that of 1937 and 43 times that of 1927–1928.

Kent State University

ALFRED A. SKERPAN

STALIN'S FOREIGN POLICY REAPPRAISED. By *Marshall D. Shulman*. [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 48.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. vi, 320. \$6.50.) Professor Shulman's volume is impressive in its informed and intelligible sophistication. Not merely an attempt at meticulous reconstruction, it reflects a welcome search for meaning by one thoroughly conversant with the problems of Stalinism and foreign policy. The title is a misnomer. Basically, the study deals with the final years of Stalin's life. Indeed, part of the argument is that the period from 1949 on—after the Berlin blockade—did not see an intensification of aggressive activity (as has at times been posited, with reference to the Korean War and guerrilla

warfare in Southeast Asia). According to Shulman, Soviet policy in 1949-1953 sought to combine defensive elements of peaceful coexistence and the peace campaign (taking the place of temporary alliances which in the 1930's resulted in popular fronts) with preparations for a future shift to a more assertive and militant policy. The author makes an ingenious case for the thesis that, far from persisting in rigid obstinacy, Stalin in 1949-1952 was prepared to adjust his policy to the "non-revolutionary" reality of the world, above all, taking into account the forces of nationalism and technology, which were proving far more potent than "proletarian" bonds and appeals. The book is full of refreshing and illuminating insights, ranging from the relative rationality of Soviet behavior to Stalin's conception of the peace movement, and the striking continuity of Soviet policy. Others would distribute the accents differently, no doubt, perhaps putting less stock in Stalin's awareness of prospective changes in the strategic balance, paying more attention to Communist strategy in Asia (Shulman's excellent examples center largely on France), and seeing more reality in policy differences between Left and Right in international Communism in the years following World War II. But regardless of the ultimate judgment on some substantive matters, perhaps the greatest value of this study is the author's approach, his sense and sobriety.

Columbia University

ALEXANDER DALLIN

NEAR EAST

THE ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT: THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARMENIAN POLITICAL PARTIES THROUGH THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Louise Nalbandian*. [Published under the auspices of the Near Eastern Center, University of California, Los Angeles.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1963. Pp. ix, 247. \$6.00.) This volume is a valuable and welcome addition to the slowly but steadily growing literature on Armenian studies; its value is enhanced by the fact that it is the first carefully prepared study of an intriguing subject, as a doctoral dissertation at Stanford University and as a worthy publication of a great university press. In this pioneering work Miss Nalbandian narrates the tragic story of the Armenian people's struggle for freedom in Turkey during the second half of the nineteenth century. After an adequate account of their aspirations through the centuries in the first two chapters, the author takes up the story of the various secret organizations whose primary aims were to inculcate among the Armenians the idea of freedom and teach them to fight for its attainment. But freedom had not lost its meaning to the sturdy Armenian mountaineers at Zeitun (in Cilicia) when they chose to defy the Turks rather than submit to them servilely in 1862. This isolated move and its inevitable failure led to the rise of a series of organizations, the first of which was the Armenakan (formed in 1885), followed by the Henschakian (founded in 1887 by a band of socialist-idealists), and the Federation (socialist-nationalist, founded in 1890). In Nalbandian's narrative, based on a large variety of sources in a number of languages (including, of course, Armenian, and also Russian), we have the first reliable and readable story of these organizations (which she designates "political parties") in English. Neither condemning nor condoning the many chimerical and ill-conceived attempts made by the leaders of these organizations for the attainment of their common goal, the author seems to imply that none of these attempts, even if temporarily successful, would have changed the outcome of the struggle, for only a miracle could have rescued the Armenians in Turkey from an impossible and despairing situation. It seems that they were doomed to perdition under the Ottoman regime in their homeland. Though her depressing story, one involving the fate of a nation, ends with the eventful years of the late 1890's, therein one can detect the making of the Armenian tragedy

in Turkey in 1915. The copious notes are an invaluable part of the book, and the excellent bibliography is an indispensable aid to all students of the subject.

Library of Congress

A. O. SARKISSIAN

AFRICA

HISTORY OF EAST AFRICA. Volume I. Edited by *Roland Oliver* and *Gervase Mathew*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 500. \$10.10.) The authors and editors, never introduced to the reader, of this projected three-volume study have produced a masterful account of the continuous development of East Africa from the earliest known prehistory until the partition. Arab and European colonial periods are treated merely as important challenges to which the African responded. The bibliography is outstanding in a study that has many outstanding characteristics. Careful editing has eliminated duplication of content. The literary style is fresh, the judgments cautious, the scope stupendous, the documentation exhaustive, the integration of multi-disciplinary data proficient. The authors have been brave enough to generalize, exhibited the good sense to leave many questions unanswered, were helpful enough to outline remaining problems. Although working under the aegis of the Colonial Office, they have successfully avoided the taint of "official history." The objectivity of this book is a welcome antidote to Endre Sík's *Histoire de l'Afrique Noire* (1961), a tract masquerading as scholarly research. The chief weakness in a work devoid of serious errors lies in the treatment of slavery. The reader is told that the ideology of the American and French Revolutions led to a massive involvement of Britain in Africa, although one is left to guess how. Ignoring the Industrial Revolution, the author postulates that "Religion was the most powerful force which drove the European into Africa." Again, "In 1833 the institution of slavery was abolished in the British Colonies [there is some difference between issuing edicts in London and their implementation in the African hinterland!]. . . . At once the humanitarians turned their attention . . . to Africa." The antislavery impulse projected upon the East India Company's dominions with their ten million to twenty million slaves is ignored. These deficiencies point up the pressing need for a comprehensive source book on enslavement. The epilogue concludes: "For the integration of East Africa with the general progress of mankind on the outside, a drastic simplification of the old political diversity was an inescapable necessity. It was a problem . . . which only a period of colonial tutelage could solve." It is doubtful whether any African could be found to admit that! Even so, the proposition needs to be put to a generation determined to equate colonialism with incarnate evil. In the final volumes the editors may develop their thoughts about this "essential tutelage." Fuller treatment of the decline of Arab influence would be helpful. More should be done with the exciting early Chinese contacts presented so provocatively in Chapter iv.

Dakota Wesleyan University

MARVIN G. PURSINGER

L'AVÈNEMENT DE L'AFRIQUE NOIRE: DU XIX^e SIÈCLE À NOS JOURS. By *Henri Brunschwig*. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1963. Pp. 247.) Brunschwig attempts to explain the process through which Africa developed to reach the position where it could make what he considers a positive contribution to the international community. He concludes that Africa lacks a history comparable to that of other areas, giving as the basic reason the paucity of written sources for much of the continent. He does note that other sources, as oral traditions, can offset this deficiency, but justly considers that they lack the precision of written sources. The more distant past, however, is not of primary interest to Brunschwig, perhaps causing him to overstate Africa's

isolation as a beginning point for his study. The more detailed examination begins with the humanitarian stirrings against the slave trade in late eighteenth-century Britain and France. A brief illuminating discussion of these two movements' differences is given, but the discussion is marred by a too facile dismissal of the economic factors contributing to the abolition of the slave trade. (There is a revealing omission of E. Williams' *Capitalism and Slavery* from Brunschwig's generally good bibliography.) Then follows treatment of European efforts to regenerate Africa, especially through commerce and colonization, with emphasis on French ventures, where Brunschwig draws upon unpublished materials. Two chapters deal with areas of less interest to the French. Southern Africa receives a summary, although unobjectionable, treatment, but Eastern Africa is badly presented. Brunschwig, clearly unfamiliar with this area, commits many errors in his account. Even France's important role at Zanzibar and in the interior is undeveloped. On the partition of Africa, Brunschwig includes a very good chapter concerning De Brazza's role. Unpublished material is utilized to supply independent corroboration to the recent article of J. Stengers (*Journal of African History*, III [No. 3, 1963]) regarding De Brazza's, and France's, contribution to starting the so-called scramble for Africa. Next follows a general discussion of the partition, the emergence of new nations, and the African reaction to the new ideas brought them from the Western world. Included is a valuable discussion of events and reactions in French-speaking territories and among French-speaking Africans. Thus Brunschwig presents a very uneven collection of information to develop his thesis. The scholarly analysis of new materials regarding former French territories is accompanied by discussions of the most general nature on former British territories. As many historians of Africa, Brunschwig attempts to speak for the whole continent without the research necessary to make his conclusions useful. By doing so he has produced a study marred by errors of fact and ill-digested materials.

Boston University

NORMAN R. BENNETT

THE GOLD COAST, BRITAIN AND THE NETHERLANDS, 1850-1874. By *Douglas Coombs*. [West African History Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 160. \$4.00.) This excellent study deals with a "small chapter of West African history," but it contains much of interest and value for students of diplomatic history, British colonial policy, and West African history. The Dutch established some settlements on the Gold Coast in the early seventeenth century, but failed to develop them into a colony. The settlements never enjoyed much prosperity; in the middle of the nineteenth century they were in a sad state of decline, and the Dutch position was precarious. The Netherlands government, which had more territory in the East than it could effectively administer, was determined to get rid of an expensive nuisance. The British government, which also had settlements in the area, was the only logical taker, but it was more inclined to reduce than to extend its commitments. To compound its difficulties the Dutch government could not get the approval of the States General for the transfer except as a part of a diplomatic bargain. After long and troubled negotiations a treaty of cession was signed and ratified. Linked with it were two agreements giving the Netherlands a free hand in Sumatra and the right to recruit coolies in India for service in Surinam. For the Dutch the cession meant the end of their colonialism in Africa; for the British it meant a war with the Ashanti and a policy of effective administration of what is now southern Ghana.

University of Kentucky

AMRY VANDENBOSCH

ERNEST OPPENHEIMER AND THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. By *Theodore Gregory*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp.

xx, 637. \$13.45.) First commissioned by the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., to write its history, Professor Gregory decided after the death of Sir Ernest Oppenheimer in 1957 to make his book somewhat biographical. He clearly thought businessmen much maligned and resolved to improve the image of his subject. In spite of his efforts, however, Oppenheimer remains little more than the calculating mind and relentless animating spirit of the Anglo-American Corporation and the sovereign of the world of diamonds. We do not really get acquainted with Oppenheimer as a person, as a philanthropist, or as an observer of social and economic affairs; nor do we learn as much as we would like about his role as a Smuts supporter in South African politics. Furthermore, about economic development in Southern Africa we are told little except how, in the immediate context, Oppenheimer's vast array of mining and other companies grew and was of importance. The introductory chapter somewhat summarizes the book, revealing the author's viewpoint, and the reader without a taste for detailed maneuvers of corporation finance, integration, and control will venture beyond the early sections only at the risk of some boredom and confusion. The first and best half of the book discusses Oppenheimer's rise to primacy in diamonds and his skill in maintaining monopolistic control of diamond production and sales in the face of new alluvial discoveries, the Great Depression, and some governmental opposition. The remainder mainly shows Oppenheimer keeping British capital strong in Rhodesian copper and pioneering the development of the Orange Free State gold fields. The business executive or student of business history will therefore probably find much of interest in the study although the general student of South African history may not. Gregory's bibliography and footnotes are generally valuable, however, and show his wide use of materials beyond the private papers of Oppenheimer and the Anglo-American Corporation archives that were open to him.

Long Beach State College

RICHARD H. WILDE

ASIA AND THE EAST

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE T'ANG DYNASTY. By D. C. Twitchett. [University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, Number 8.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 373. \$18.50.) Originally written in 1953 as the author's doctoral dissertation, this book consists of the text of 123 pages divided into six chapters—"Land Tenure," "Direct Taxation," "State Monopolies and Taxes on Trade," "Currency and Credit," "The Transportation System," and "The Financial Administration"—five appendixes that are translations of several T'ang codes, statutes, regulations, and ordinances (*lü, ling, k'o, shih*) related to the subjects of this book and of some important accounts by T'ang scholars and statesmen on state finances; and notes, bibliography, glossary and subject indexes, and nine maps. Based upon the fundamental source materials for the study of economic history of the T'ang, together with the Turfan and Tun-huang manuscripts which have attracted little attention in the West, the author deliberately confines himself to state finance policy, without entering the discussions of hypotheses about periodization and socioeconomic stages of Chinese history so prevalent nowadays among Japanese scholars. Twitchett's general view on the T'ang period is that it witnessed a transition from the controlled system of land allotment to the free tenure of land, or from the system of fixed head taxes to that of taxation based on assessment of property and of land levies. He also affirms that the private possession of landed property was recognized since the beginning of the dynasty. A commendable feature of this book is the presentation of copious notes which amount roughly to one thousand items for the text and one hundred more for the appendixes of seventy pages. It is more often in the notes that I find useful suggestions advanced

by the author on the knotty problems of T'ang history. He disagrees with Henri Maspero's view, recently adopted by Gernet, that the purpose of the land allotment system was the limitation of holdings, offering his own opinion that it was to encourage the opening of new land and marginal cultivation. Enumerating nearly one hundred works by Japanese scholars since the 1920's and about fifty by Chinese and westerners, Chü Ch'ing-yüan and Balázs among others, in the bibliography, the author challenges criticisms whenever necessary. As for the divided opinion on whether *k'o* means miscellaneous *corvée* as Sogabe asserts, or fiscal impositions in general, the author, like Yang Lien-sheng, believes that Sogabe's theory is wrong for the T'ang period. Some of his transcriptions of Chinese characters as pronounced in Japanese should be corrected or improved.

Okayama University

HISAYUKI MIYAKAWA

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD. Edited by *Allan Nevins* and *Howard M. Ehrmann*. THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC TO 1900: A MODERN HISTORY. AUSTRALIA; NEW ZEALAND; THE ISLANDS; ANTARCTICA. By *C. Hartley Grattan*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 558, xvii. \$7.50.) This is a general view of Western man in the Southwest Pacific to 1900. Though interesting and highly informative, it does not quite match the verve and cogency of Mr. Grattan's memorable earlier works. Half the space treats of Australia; New Zealand and the islands cover about one hundred pages each; and thirty-two pages are devoted to Antarctica. Part I reports European exploration of the areas and then opens on the foundations of Australia, the penal establishment, the emergence of a viable settlement, the tensions of the Age of Bligh and Macquarie, and the rise of pastoralism, capital, labor, banking, and communications in a society half bond and half free. The drive for self-government is recounted. Personalities such as Macarthur, Wentworth, and Lang are evaluated. Two chapters on New Zealand cover early sporadic settlement, the whalers, the influx of missionaries, the role of James Busby as British agent, the moves of Wakefield and the New Zealand Association, and finally the Waitangi treaty. The material on the islands surveys a host of American, British, and European explorations crisscrossing Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia before 1850. There is comment on the social and antisocial impact of Western sailors and missionaries and the origins of international rivalries ranging across the scatter of islands between the Marquesas and New Caledonia. One chapter covers the navigations of D'Urville, Wilkes, Ross, and others into the Antarctic before 1850. Part II returns to Australia in the era of gold rush and popular democracy. Between 1850 and 1900 a revolution in population, agriculture, and communications took place. A national literature and Australian ethos developed as the native-born Australians became the majority. Intercolonial rivalries dominated the political scene until world forces and nationalism forced Australia along the federal road to Commonwealth. This was the era of militant trades-unions, the great strikes, the rise of labor politics, and the tapering off of the old utopian radicalism. The material on New Zealand after 1840 covers formal European settlement in North Island, the bitter Maori wars, the influences of Julius Vogel and Sir George Grey, the gold rushes, the booming seventies, and the depressed eighties. The maturing of politics under Ballance and Seddon and the first signs of colonial literary and intellectual achievements conclude the material on New Zealand. Two chapters focus on imperialism in the Pacific, with emphasis on Fiji, Samoa, and New Guinea. The book ends with a short chapter on the slack period in Antarctic exploration around the mid-nineteenth century, followed by the new wave of explorers of the 1890's: the Dundee whalers, Larsen, Bull, and Borchgrevink. It must be noted that the inclusion of Antarctica weakens the unity of this book. Antarctic history is a

separate projection of Euro-American energy, and Antarctica is not commonly included in the Southwest Pacific geographic or historical-cultural areas. Had the Antarctic been omitted, more attention could have been allotted to Pacific island history. Economic history is consistently excellent throughout this study. Proper attention was given to the achievements of the noble succession of French navigators of the Pacific. On page thirty-four is recorded the interesting detail that British convicts were landed and "sold" in the United States as late as 1788. I suggest that the author rather underrates the antitransportation movement in Australia. One link between the Antarctic and Australia that should have been mentioned is the support by the Australian Natives' Association of Antarctic exploration. The bibliography is selective, the format and style are crisp, but the maps are commonplace.

Colgate University

CHARLES S. BLACKTON

FORT WILLIAM-INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY PAPERS RELATING THERETO (Public Series). Volume IV, 1764-1766. Edited by C. S. Srinivasachari. [Indian Records Series.] (Delhi: Manager of Publications, Government of India, for the National Archives of India. 1962. Pp. xxxvi, 536. Rs. 17.00.) Any new volume in the series on the *Fort William-India House Correspondence* is welcomed by students of Indian history. This one includes thirty letters from the court of directors in London to the president and council, the governors and the select committee at Fort William in Bengal, and thirty-six from the council, Clive, and the select committee to the court. At the beginning of 1764 conditions in Bengal were desperate. The position of the company was threatened internally by the exactions and corruption of its servants and army, and externally by Shujaud-Daulah, Nawab Vazir of Oudh. But in October 1764 Major Munro won an overwhelming victory over the Nawab Vazir at Buxar and so ended this danger before the arrival of Clive in May 1765. But Clive, who was sent back to India to deal with the critical situation, still faced the problems of ending corruption by company servants in the inland trade and of double "batta" in the army, and of determining the constitutional position of the company after Buxar. Making all due allowances for Clive painting corruption even blacker than it was, his letters to the court describe how he curtailed this corruption and broke the dangerous mutiny in the army, and how he established his so-called system of dual government. Events following his return to England falsified his optimistic predictions because the corrupt practices of the company servants were resumed and because the attempt of the company to act as *dewan* proved a failure. The value of this book for students of eighteenth-century Indian history lies in making available source material from the Indian Archives and India Office Library in one compact volume. But the general reader will find that the long letters of the court and the reports of Clive are well worth reading because they give a more vivid picture of the attitude of the company and of conditions in India than do those in most secondary histories.

Western Reserve University

DONALD GROVE BARNES

CHINESE SOURCES FOR THE TAIPING REBELLION, 1850-1864. By J. C. Cheng. Preface by William Lewisohn. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 182. \$6.00.) Dr. Cheng apparently compiled and translated the materials printed here, utilizing the important Taiping documents at Cambridge University and the British Museum, some ten years ago, and he has not paid much attention to Taiping historiography since. The documents in British libraries are not, as his introduction claims, "hitherto unpublished" (see the collections edited by Ch'eng Yen-sheng, 1926; Hsiao I-shan, 1936; Wang Chung-min, 1948; as well as

the recent extensive publications in the People's Republic of China). Nor, unhappily, are his selection and treatment of documents satisfactory. Of 139 pages of text, 25 are devoted to snippets from the *Tung-hua-lu* dealing with the origins of the rebellion to 1853, with no reference to Jen Yu-wen in the notes. Fifty more pages are given to already well-known letters by Li Hung-chang concerned primarily with the activities of Ward, Burgevine, and Gordon, the inclusion of which once more—in the teeth of Hail and Wright—exaggerates the foreign role in the suppression of the Taipings and neglects Tseng Kuo-fan and the Hunan army.

University of Michigan

ALBERT FEUERWERKER

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AUSTRALIA. Volume V, 1851–1900: A–G. By *John Alexander Ferguson*. (Sydney: Angus and Robertson. 1963. Pp. xiv, 1146. £10 10s.) No matter what variety of opinion scholars of Australian history may have about one another's works, and about one another, they are unanimous about one thing: Sir John Ferguson's *Bibliography of Australia* is the greatest single work of pure scholarship that Australia has produced. The *Bibliography* lists virtually every printed item published in Australia, or relating to it, from 1784 (when the British government first projected the establishment of the colony) to 1901 (when the colonies federated to form the present Commonwealth). Each item is precisely and elaborately described and its location stated. Historical notes on several of the items, and biographical notes about some of the authors, are of no small value to the user. Its principal value, however, may well lie in the fact that a very large proportion of the items listed, especially the broadsides and pamphlets, are unknown and would have remained so but for Ferguson's detective work. Quite a few of the rarest pieces, incidentally, come from the superb Ferguson Collection, the author's own. It is unlikely that many other countries can boast of an authoritative, and, above all, complete bibliography of all works published during the first century and more of their existence. The word "complete" needs some necessary qualification. First, not all the volumes of the bibliography have been published. By 1955, four large volumes had appeared; they covered the period 1784–1851. The author stated in the fourth volume that he "hoped that a fifth and final volume may be published covering the period 1851 to 1901." Alas, the output of printed matter in the second half of the nineteenth century was, compared to that of the first half, staggeringly large. The fifth volume thus had to become three separate substantial volumes, the first of which, covering letters A to G, is before us now. The others are yet to come; the last is to contain the general index for the period 1851–1901. A second qualification to completeness arises from the same problem, the mass of materials to be listed. Certain categories of printed matter had to be excluded—important ones, like governmental papers, periodicals, and belles-lettres, as well as unimportant ones, like opera wordbooks and sporting fixtures. Some of these have been covered, in part at least, elsewhere. And since the present A to G volume runs into some 10,000 items and 1,100 pages, the author's preference for selectivity over bulk is understandable. The previous volumes were chronologically arranged; this one lists alphabetically, by authors. Historians, librarians, and collectors should welcome this change. Layout and printing are excellent; the paper is not.

Warburg Institute, London

GEORGE H. NADEL

INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN, 1876–1907: A STUDY IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. By *D. P. Singhal*. ([St. Lucia:] University of Queensland Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 216. 55s.6d.) It is fortunate that so able a scholar as Dr. Singhal has made this latest study of British policy on the northwest frontier of India. The book gives what may

fairly be considered as a definitive account of the emergence, during the formative years between the Second Afghan War and the Anglo-Russian accord of 1907, of an independent and increasingly cohesive Afghan state out of a kind of tribal no man's land, largely as a consequence of British Indian distrust of Russian penetration into Central Asia. In the course of this analysis, much unfamiliar information is presented on the relations of the rulers of British India with the British home government and on the character of the leading personalities caught up in the evolving relations between Afghan rulers and British viceroys. Owing to small type and crowded pages, the book is considerably more comprehensive in scope and detail than is suggested by the pagination. It is based on substantially all of the useful original sources, public and private, that have survived from the period treated, with due reference, as well, to standard secondary works. Supplementing the text are nine appendixes, consisting mainly of illustrative public documents. The author's style is pithy, the text, studded with aphorisms; indeed, the book may be considered a classic in its field.

Library of Congress

HALFORD L. HOSKINS

PROBLEMS AND POLICIES OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA, 1885-1898. By *Hira Lal Singh*. [Asia Historical Series, Number 1.] (New York: Asia Publishing House; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1963. Pp. xi, 284. \$10.75.) This expanded version of the author's Ph.D. thesis at the University of London subjects to detailed examination the attitudes and actions of India's British rulers from 1885 to 1898 in four policy areas: the employment of Indians in the civil services, the expansion of representation in the legislative councils of the (British) government of India, the adjustment of military policy to changing conditions, and, finally, the reaction of British officialdom to the emergence of the Indian National Congress as a spokesman for Indian opinion. The author has examined (and quotes extensively from) a wide range of manuscript materials, both official and private. He has provided abundant documentation for his conclusion that British policy in these years was "dominated by considerations of safety, racial superiority, the preservation of imperial economic interests, and a distrust of the Indian educated class." None of this is new, of course, but it is useful to have such an exhaustive review of the evidence. The author's judgments are consistently temperate, a quality often lacking in writings on the emotion-laden topic of British rule in India. Occasional pungent comments enliven his narrative, however, as in his observation that the Congress leadership during these years "was in the hands of those who barked well but shrank from biting." The volume offers numerous illustrations of divergence between the views of the government of India and those of the authorities in London (not on fundamentals, of course, but on questions of implementation of basic policy). In view of all that we have heard of the oppressive nationality policies of the tsars, it is startling to read that one of the arguments that certain British officials advanced (unsuccessfully) in favor of admitting Indians to the higher officer ranks of the Indian army was that Russia's Central Asian subjects were appointed to high military posts by the tsarist government. If criticism is to be made of this work, it might well be on the ground that the author presents such a mass of detail that reading sometimes becomes tedious. Occasional unexplained references to terms peculiar to British-Indian history may also prove confusing to the uninitiated. Nevertheless, this volume stands as a worthwhile addition to the small but growing body of scholarly monographs that will ultimately make possible a view of the British period in India's history unencumbered either by defensive imperialist apologetics or uncritical nationalist condemnations.

Sir George Williams University

MARTIN DEMING LEWIS

AUSTRALIA IN THE WAR OF 1939-1945. Series Five (Medical). Volume IV, MEDICAL SERVICES OF THE R.A.N. AND R.A.A.F., WITH A SECTION ON WOMEN IN THE ARMY MEDICAL SERVICES. By *Allan S. Walker et al.* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial; distrib. by Angus and Robertson, Sydney. 1961. Pp. xv, 574. 35s.) This is the fourth and last volume of the Australian medical war history describing the work of the medical departments of the Royal Australian Navy and the Royal Australian Air Force in World War II. Part One is an account of the RAN from World War I through World War II. Patterned after their parent organization, the British navy, the "medics" from "down under" gave a brilliant account of themselves not only in the Pacific theater but also in the North African and Mediterranean campaigns. Part Two tells the story of the medical service of the RAAF from its inception in 1922 (one medical officer) through the period of demobilization at the close of hostilities. The third and final section of the book deals with the role of "Women in the Army Medical Services," "Hospital Ships," "The Geneva Convention," and "Rehabilitation." Like earlier volumes in the series, this book is well written and liberally illustrated with photographs and maps. Although of primary interest to medical men, the text is intelligible to nonmedical readers and gives enough details about naval and air actions to provide a supplementary source of the highest value to military historians. Indeed no general history of the conduct of World War II can claim completeness if it neglects the role of the medical services of all the combatants as portrayed in the massive and monumental medical histories that have been appearing since the close of hostilities. This book is a worthy companion to its predecessors which already fill shelves measured in multiples of five feet.

Washington, D. C.

MORRIS C. LEIKIND

DE JAPANESE INTERNERINGSKAMPEN VOOR BURGERS GEDURENDE DE TWEEDE WERELDOORLOG. By *D. van Velden.* (Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1963. Pp. viii, 2, 628. Glds. 27.50.) This lengthy and detailed work gives a full description of Japanese internment camps for enemy civilians during World War II. All available material is used except untranslated Japanese material (it seems unlikely that it would alter the picture here given). The emphasis is on the camps in Java. Though the author was interned there, her evaluations are notably objective. Japanese policies as originally formulated were predicated on the assumption that the war would be short. Conditions worsened as the war went on. Most of the camps were soon placed under direct army control, and in the later stages of the war when shortages in the Japanese homeland became acute, the internees suffered real hardships. All in all, Van Velden pictures Japanese policy as relatively well intentioned, but marred by indifference, apathy, neglect, and occasional brutality. Conditions in the camps varied, depending on the commanders in charge. Top officials in Tokyo, though sporadically made aware that conditions were not good in many of the camps, took no effective action. The author stresses the difficulties caused by different cultural backgrounds. The internees had little appreciation of Japanese values and their religious basis, and the Japanese even less of Western values. The camp commanders, products of a stratified society supposedly divinely ordained by the Shinto gods, felt Western values to be obviously inferior and expected admiration for Japanese aims. "Shame-oriented," with the moral content of an act depending on their society's reaction to it, they were often more concerned with saving face than with solving problems. And, as products of an army training that emphasized harsh discipline and rigid obedience, they viewed protests as signs of weakness and inferiority. There were, as a result, constant misunderstanding and mutual exasperation. The author's awareness of the relation between cultural background and specific action gives depth to what is surely a comprehensive compilation of

data. Extensive tables, maps, index, bibliography, and a brief English summary were added.

Calvin College

DIRK JELLEMA

AMERICAS

BLUEPRINTS FOR LEVIATHAN: AMERICAN STYLE. By *Roy F. Nichols*. (New York: Atheneum. 1963. Pp. xiv, 333. \$6.50.) This study is somewhat less theoretical and comprehensive than one might expect from its title. In Hobbesian fashion, the author is concerned with the construction, operation, and adjustment of an engine of government, and with its temporary breakdown under the weight of human passions. His methods, however, are those of the historian rather than the political philosopher. He writes narrative history that is illuminated by much thoughtful interpretation and elegantly cluttered with the word "leviathan" as an equivalent of "government." The book opens with two chapters that skillfully probe the English origins of the American political system. Chapters III and IV carry the reader hurriedly from the first colonial settlements to the transcontinental republic of the 1850's. Then the pace slows abruptly for a detailed examination of the Kansas-Nebraska controversy, and seven chapters are required to cover the period from 1854 to 1865. Two more, describing the "new leviathan" that emerged during Reconstruction, bring the volume to a close. Thus the result is to some extent another book about the Civil War; in a chapter titled "The Reasons for Two Leviathans," Professor Nichols even wrestles once again with the old problem of causation. Perhaps the most striking thing here is his repeated suggestion that southern secessionists were aiming less at permanent independence than at a new Federal Union reconstructed according to their specifications. But *Blueprints for Leviathan* is also a study of the evolution of American governmental design. It stresses political action rather than political theory and concentrates especially upon the drafting of fundamental orders, including charters, social compacts, organic acts, and constitutions of all kinds. Moreover, it is concerned primarily with legislative institutions and behavior; the role of the judiciary in the elaboration of "leviathan" receives no attention. This narrowness of scope limits the book's usefulness, but enhances its structural integrity. There are, it must be added, some slips and tumbles. For instance, an obtrusive repetition on page sixty-three cannot have been intended; the Northwest Ordinance did not promise a legislature when a territory had five thousand *people*; the Cass version of popular sovereignty should not include the words "when it applied for statehood"; the Compromise of 1850 consisted of six bills, not five, when it passed the Senate; and the conspiracy interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment has been thoroughly discredited. Yet these are minor flaws in a book that is rich in solid facts and sound judgments.

Stanford University

DON E. FEHRENBACHER

AMERICAN LEARNED SOCIETIES. By *Joseph C. Kiger*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1963. Pp. 291. \$6.00.) Of the sixty American learned societies described by Professor Kiger, only the American Philosophical Society and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences were founded in the eighteenth century. Significantly, they are the only two that embrace all areas of learning—scientific and humanistic—in their fellowship. The other fifty-eight, equally divided between specialties of the natural sciences on the one hand, and the humanities and social sciences on the other, are of more recent origin: twenty-four were established in the nineteenth century and thirty-four since 1900. Brief sketches of each occupy the first two chapters; the third is given to councils and societal institutes; the next three to the relationship of the organiza-

tions previously described to philanthropic foundations, government, industry, and universities, and international relations. The last chapter is devoted to "Retrospect and Prospect." The book is carefully documented. The accounts of the societies of which I have personal knowledge are accurate, informative, and up to date; I therefore assume that the others are also. As no single scholar is likely to have had personal acquaintance with more than a fraction of the bodies here described, any reader will encounter something of interest, if only evidence that will permit him to reflect how much better (or worse) his particular discipline has done than others. The organization of learning is at best a wearisome subject. One hates to think how many committee meetings, conferences, bills for dues, applications for grants, and the like have been generated within the societies described, or within the ACE, NAS-NRC, ACLS, SSRC, AAAS, FASEB, AIP, AUBS, AGI that represent their joint national activities, or the IRC, ISCU, IAU, UNESCO, ECOSOC, ICPHS, ISSC that operate internationally. All of this has occurred from the highest motives; it is depressing that there is so much organization that such a guide as this becomes necessary.

Boston Athenæum

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

SPIRIT OF A FREE SOCIETY: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF SENATOR JAMES WILLIAM FULBRIGHT ON THE OCCASION OF THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GERMAN FULBRIGHT PROGRAM. (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer. 1962. Pp. 391.) The present volume is a *Festschrift* in honor of United States Senator James W. Fulbright, composed of twelve essays by eleven Fulbright scholars: four Germans and seven Americans. Each author, a sometime recipient of a Fulbright grant, has been active in the promotion of American studies in the Federal Republic of Germany. Five essays are concerned with social reform, and the authors cross paths at times. Professor Abbot, in analyzing the reforms of 1820-1860, tends to place the antislavery crusade in the larger setting of the humanitarian movement. Professor Havard, likewise concerned with the ante bellum period and the antislavery crusade, in his "The Self-Interpretation of the South," concedes being "inevitably affected by the romantic tradition of his region," and presents the crusade "objectively" from the southern point of view. Two interesting additional views of Abbot are that the midwestern group of abolitionists accomplished more effective work in converting northerners to the cause than did the Garrison group and that the desire of a small group of women to take part in the movement for the abolition of slaves was what launched the crusade for equal status for women. In his essay on "Recent Trends in American Social Thought," Professor Sproat searches for a single synthesis of American thought. To him an American society in which the idea of progress lacked vitality is unimaginable. For him the faith that man was born free and that his goal in life must always be to retain his freedom is characteristically American, is the true "Spirit of a Free Society." Five more of the twelve contributions of the volume are literary studies. The two remaining essays deal with geographical aspects of California. The adequacy of documentation varies. Although it may not be clear that the essays are always embodiments of facets of something one would call the "Spirit of a Free Society," they provide an example of the work of the participants on the Fulbright program in Germany during the past ten years. The volume very properly gives recognition to the initiator of an educational exchange program that has resulted in increasing mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of Germany and other countries. The term "Fulbrighter" has become a meaningful addition to their vocabulary.

Haile Sellassie I University

ROBERT LA FOLLETTE

THE CHEROKEES. By *Grace Steele Woodward*. [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Number 65.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1963. Pp. xv,

359. \$5.95.) The Cherokees have long figured among the most popular of the North American tribes. For the anthropologist, they have conveniently maintained a "reservation culture" in North Carolina. As for the Cherokees, now in Oklahoma, their alphabet, their written constitution and laws, their newspapers, plantations, slaves, churches, temperance societies, and female seminaries titillated Anglo-American sensibilities with the sincerest form of flattery. Historians have returned the compliment with numerous accounts of the Cherokee nation, its leaders, and its dramatic struggle to maintain its land and national identity against assorted villains, both governmental and private. Chronologically, Grace Steele Woodward's history is the most comprehensive of recent scholarly treatments. A stimulating first chapter describes the Cherokees of today. There follows an account of the tribe from the first contact period through the dissolution of the Cherokee national government in Oklahoma in the early twentieth century. Drawing on published narratives, the work of anthropologists, and hitherto unexploited manuscripts from the British Museum, the author presents well-documented sketches of early tribal culture. She concentrates her narrative, however, on political and diplomatic affairs. The one chapter devoted to nineteenth-century social history, significantly titled "Progress," deals primarily with the culture of the mixed-blood elite. Woodward makes no apparent use of the missionary manuscripts and the files of the *Cherokee Phoenix* so productively exploited by Starkey (1946) and Malone (1956). Cherokee politics is largely a history of factionalism; much of Woodward's story is told from the viewpoint of the Ross faction. Her extensive quotations from the Georgia archives and the John Ross Papers add significant fragments to our knowledge of the disputes over removal and the tribe's somewhat confused allegiance during the Civil War, but Wardell's account (1938) remains the fullest and best-balanced for the period 1838-1907. Woodward's is a clearly written, carefully organized, comprehensive narrative history. It is well documented and adds substantially to our knowledge of the subject. It is somewhat ironic, however, that though the Cherokees are celebrated for the rapidity and apparent thoroughness of their adoption of Anglo-American cultural patterns, recent scholarly historians of the tribe have neglected the anthropologists' work on patterns of culture change, while anthropologists tend to neglect the Oklahoma in favor of the North Carolina Cherokees. (See, for example, several interesting papers on the Cherokees in *Bulletin* 180 of the Bureau of American Ethnology [1961]). In this respect, Woodward must be included among the neglectful.

Ohio State University

MARY E. YOUNG

HERE LIES VIRGINIA: AN ARCHAEOLOGIST'S VIEW OF COLONIAL LIFE AND HISTORY. By Ivor Noël Hume. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1963. Pp. xix, 316, viii. \$7.95.) The chief archaeologist of Colonial Williamsburg did not mean to set up a tombstone for the Old Dominion. Instead, he set out to encourage Virginians and others to recover and to properly classify the buried archaeological remains of the colonial period. Although the period is comparatively recent, it is increasingly difficult, thanks to the continuous and indiscriminate use of the bulldozer, to locate, assemble, and classify "sufficient facts to create a complete picture of life as it was lived in the colony in the seventeenth or eighteenth century." Mr. Noël Hume states that this book is not written for scholars. But scholars can appreciate the adventures of a fellow professional and profit by his chapter references, the nearest thing to footnotes. The author is especially indebted to the research reports of Colonial Williamsburg and of the National Park Service. Scholar and layman should enjoy the story of diverse divings, diggings, and findings by Noël Hume and others such as: the ship graveyard off Yorktown; the remains of plantation homes large and small—"Rosewell," "Green Spring," and "Tutter's Neck"; taverns—the Swan at Yorktown and the Raleigh at

Williamsburg; the public jail at Williamsburg; Bruton Parish Church; and the sites of various craft shops in Williamsburg and elsewhere. The author is especially concerned with those public-spirited laymen interested in locating and preserving the identity of historic sites along with their artifacts. Throughout the book he shows how and why the same skills, knowledge, and methods must be used for early Virginia as for ancient Egypt, and he proves with many fascinating examples that "archaeology and recorded history can and must combine together to fill in the details" of the life of a people. His work in his native Great Britain has given the author a proper perspective for his work in colonial Virginia. He has written with wit and infectious enthusiasm and with many examples in describing his detective work—archaeological and historical. He does not agree that historians and archaeologists must "hide behind a mask of erudite solemnity" to prove that they take their work seriously, or "that by 'popularizing' it" they are automatically guilty of lowering their standards. To this most historians must agree. Illustrations are abundant and helpful, and the format of the book is attractive.

College of William and Mary

RICHARD L. MORTON

MINNESOTA: A HISTORY OF THE STATE. By *Theodore C. Blegen*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 688. \$8.50.) Drawing upon insights and information acquired during more than four decades of scholarly interest in Minnesota's history, Theodore Blegen has produced an interesting, authoritative one-volume history of the state. The organization of the book is both chronological and topical. Beginning with an introductory chapter on "Land, Water, and Time," Blegen discusses the Indians and then treats successively French, British, and American fur traders and explorers. These discussions are followed by chapters on the settlement of the territory, Minnesota's admission to the Union, and the state's participation in the Civil War. A separate chapter is devoted to the Sioux war. Having taken the state through the Civil War period, Blegen turns to a topical treatment of lumbering, agriculture, mining, and education. He then returns to a general chronological treatment of the period from the late nineteenth century to the present, although the chronological narrative is interrupted by separate chapters on "The Advancing Arts" and "The Theater and the Book World." The book is rich in local detail and obviously was written by a Minnesotan for Minnesotans, yet the author does not lose sight of the national history of which Minnesota developments were but a part. Of greatest general interest and usefulness, perhaps, are the chapters on the admission of Minnesota to the Union and the Sioux war. The book has neither footnotes nor a formal bibliography, but an essay, "For Further Reading," constitutes a useful bibliographical guide to the state's history. It also attests to the value of the publications of the Minnesota Historical Society, under whose auspices this volume was prepared.

University of Nebraska

JAMES C. OLSON

THE COMPLETE WRITINGS OF ROGER WILLIAMS. Volume VII. Edited, with an Essay in Interpretation, by *Perry Miller*. (New York: Russell and Russell. 1963. Pp. 279. \$17.50.) Publication of this volume completes the present edition of the writings of Roger Williams. The first six volumes containing his letters and great treatises "are an exact reprint of the Narragansett Edition" issued between 1866 and 1874 and long very scarce. Volume VII is the introductory volume for this edition. It contains a twenty-three-page "Essay in Interpretation" by Perry Miller, which, as the title implies, is not so much an introduction to Williams' works as an assessment of his place, method, and significance. It tends to verify what the author of the publisher's foreword says: "No century is likely to speak the last word about Roger Williams." In this volume are five important items not included in the Narragansett edition, each with

a brief introduction stating the occasion for its writing. Four were tracts for the times: "Christenings make Not Christians" (1645), "The Fourth Paper Presented by Major Butler" (1652), "The Hireling Ministry None of Christs" (1652), and "The Examiner—Defended . . ." (1652). The fifth is Williams' excellent contribution to the body of Puritan devotional literature, "Experiments of Spiritual Life & Health, and their Preservatives . . ." (1652). Because the four tracts were addressed to immediate controversies while Williams was busily engaged in England, they have the roughhewn clarity of brief, unpolished works. This makes them the best introduction to the structure of his thought and the premises upon which it rests. Editor and publisher are to be commended for making Williams readily available again.

Southern California School of Theology

SIDNEY E. MEAD

ANCIENTS AND AXIOMS: SECONDARY EDUCATION IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NEW ENGLAND. By *Robert Middlekauff*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 77.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 218. \$4.75.) What happened to the Latin grammar schools the early Puritans planted in the wilderness, and what became of the commitment to liberal learning they represented? Professor Middlekauff contends that both fared surprisingly well in eighteenth-century New England, largely as a result of new forms of private education that came into being to meet business and commercial needs. "Classical learning in town schools surely would have encountered opposition had private schools not satisfied the demands of an expanding commerce," he argues. "Thus though they served the most progressive impulses in the community, private schools had an impact that was also profoundly conservative." Even at the end of the century, when the number of grammar schools fell off sharply in response to taxpayer resistance, liberal learning retained its vitality and was ultimately incorporated into the curriculum of the new academies. Middlekauff's observations challenge both the Cubberley-Monroe view of the eighteenth century, with its ideological emphasis on the academy as a "transitional" stage between the "elite" grammar school and the "democratic" high school, and the Jernegan-Adams view, with its stress on New England's cultural decline. The volume is commendable for its searching review of a wide variety of primary sources, especially town records. It is somewhat narrowly conceived, however, and tends to underestimate the complexity of eighteenth-century educational change.

Columbia University

LAWRENCE A. CREMIN

THE JOURNAL OF THE EARL OF EGMONT: ABSTRACT OF THE TRUSTEES PROCEEDINGS FOR ESTABLISHING THE COLONY OF GEORGIA, 1732-1738. Edited with an introduction by *Robert G. McPherson*. [Wormsloe Foundation Publications, Number 5.] (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1962. Pp. xxv, 414. \$7.50.) The first Earl of Egmont, Oglethorpe's most active colleague in the Georgia enterprise, performed invaluable services for the historian. He prepared for his own use an abstract of the proceedings of the Trustees and Common Council; the second and third volumes were published in Candler's *Colonial Records of Georgia*; this is the long-lost first volume. As the editor points out, the private journal supplements the official journals, also published in the *Colonial Records*. It omits much routine detail, but elaborates significant matters, and embodies later entries, notes inserted to present information on the aftermath of events and decisions currently recorded. One misses in the introduction, however, any discussion of the relationship of the private journal to the Georgia entries in Egmont's famous diary. These show many verbal similarities, but are often fuller and more informative.

University of Michigan

V. W. CRANE

PRELUDE TO YORKTOWN: THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN OF NATHANAEL GREENE, 1780-1781. By *M. F. Treacy*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1963. Pp. vi, 261. \$6.00.) Interestingly, among the increasing number of women writing military history, the author contributes a somewhat new viewpoint on the southern campaigns of the American Revolution, centered around the erstwhile Quaker, General Nathanael Greene. She shows that this Fabian commander was helped and also hindered by the Whig-Tory warfare of neighbors in the South, while his main opponent, Cornwallis, was largely confused by this partisan strife. Greene is an enigma, but the well-researched pages of this book show that he did not compare with Daniel Morgan, for instance, in stark courage and dashing leadership. The description of battles is unskilled, and evaluation of source material is rather subjective. Short and informative biographical sketches of leaders on both sides of the war enliven the volume, especially the excellent appraisal of Morgan. The role of the Tories is underrated, that of Henry Lee exaggerated. Military action at Guilford Courthouse is vividly presented, this important battle exemplifying the qualities of Greene, "an excellent planner but lacking self-assurance and personal force."

New York University

NORTH CALLAHAN

TRAVELS IN NORTH AMERICA IN THE YEARS 1780, 1781 AND 1782. By *Marquis de Chastellux*. A revised translation with introduction and notes by *Howard C. Rice, Jr.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1963. Pp. xxiv, 361; ix, 365-688. \$15.00 the set.) The famous *Travels* of the Marquis de Chastellux have at long last found precisely the right editor, and students of the American past can disregard all other editions now that Howard Rice's is available. And what an edition it is! Here is all of Chastellux—that charming, vibrant, and interesting product of eighteenth-century France who recorded his observations of revolutionary America on travels ranging from Virginia to New Hampshire between campaigns in which he served under Washington; here is George Grieve—his crotchety English translator; and here, too, is Rice—as charming, vibrant, and interesting a commentator as Chastellux himself. Like his subject, the editor ranges wide, covering fully and well such diverse topics as military matters, painting, music, literature, topography, geology, natural history, and much else besides. On every page of the text, one senses how much Chastellux enjoyed his work and his travels; on every page of the annotation, one also senses how much Rice has enjoyed his work and his travels, which took him to every locality, every fortification, and every structure Chastellux visited. Because the editor has wisely grouped his notes away from the text (else they would have swallowed it), the general reader can take his Chastellux straight if he so desires, though he is advised not to do so. The scholar, who will not mind this kind of segregation, will be grateful for the fine introduction, the useful index, and the other editorial apparatus Rice has provided. In short, whatever their interests, readers of the Rice edition will revert to it time and again as a genuine classic of observation and editing. And they will concur heartily in the choice of this set as the winner of the Manuscript Award of the Institute of Early American History and Culture.

Massachusetts Historical Society

MALCOLM FREIBERG

THOMAS JEFFERSON AS POLITICAL LEADER. By *Dumas Malone*. [Jefferson Memorial Lectures.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 75. \$3.00.) In the three lectures that form this interpretive essay, biographer Malone brings to the subject a vast knowledge of Jefferson and his times and an unexcelled understanding of the complexities of Jefferson's personality that determined

and shaped his political leadership. The essay concentrates on Jefferson as the leader of a party opposition, beginning with his place in the inchoate Republican interest and concentrating on his command of the clearly formed Republican party which challenged the Federalist control of the national administration during Adams' presidency. It does not explore the political leadership of Jefferson as President and head of a party in power. While Professor Malone thus covers the period that he has illuminated in detail in the volumes that have appeared in his biography of Jefferson, he has here skillfully accomplished the difficult task of broad summation and analysis. The portrait of Jefferson that emerges is a sympathetic yet not uncritical sketch of a reluctant party chieftain, who had no thirst for political power and no real interest in political manipulation, and who found justification for his role as a party leader in his belief that the Republican party was a means to the advancement of liberty.

University of Richmond

NOBLE E. CUNNINGHAM, JR.

MANUEL LISA AND THE OPENING OF THE MISSOURI FUR TRADE. By *Richard Edward Oglesby*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 246. \$5.00.) Although the name of Manuel Lisa (ca. 1775?-1820) has long been familiar to anyone with the slightest knowledge of the western fur trade, most historians would have found it difficult to say more of its bearer than that he was an important St. Louis fur trader of Spanish descent who, early in the nineteenth century, even before Astor and Ashley, led several expeditions up the Missouri. If asked where further information could readily be obtained, the average historian would probably have stopped with a reference to Chittenden. According to the author of this first book-length biography, Lisa's story remained long untold because, unlike Astor and Ashley, he failed to achieve outstanding financial success, but surely also because he left no substantial body of papers nor any descendants by his three wives except through his second marriage (which overlapped his first!) to an Omaha Indian girl. Dr. Oglesby, however, through painstaking research in public and private papers, principally in the Missouri Historical Society, has brought Lisa out of the shadows to spotlight him as the leader of the first four organized expeditions that ascended the Missouri after Lewis and Clark, as the founder of several Missouri fur companies, and as an effective Indian subagent. The device, commonly credited to the Ashley-Henry expedition of 1822, of sending out white hunters to trap beaver, instead of depending on the Indians, was employed by Lisa fifteen years earlier. Nevertheless, although Oglesby's thorough research has enabled him to recover and present numerous achievements and exploits, frequently of a colorful and dramatic nature, the "Black Spaniard" does not emerge as a very memorable personality. Materials adequate to such a portrayal obviously do not exist, and the author has resisted any temptation to substitute the creative imagination. He has, however, rescued his hero from the "sort of limbo" that previously was his and has given him the "better remembrance" that is his due; this was what the author originally set out to accomplish. Oglesby's knowledge of the St. Louis fur trade as revealed in this biography suggests that he should next consider a similar treatment of Lisa's rivals and occasional associates, the famous but still comparatively little-known Chouteaus, Auguste and Pierre.

University of Oregon

KENNETH WIGGINS PORTER

TWO ROADS TO SUMTER. By *William and Bruce Catton*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1963. Pp. 285. \$5.95.) The roads are those of Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis—long, tortuous roads leading from the Kentucky of 1808-1809 to the Charleston of 1861. In fact or by implication, they were also routes familiar to thousands of other Americans who may not have accompanied little Abe or Jeff to

Indiana or Mississippi, and never occupied a congressional chair or split a rail or fought at Buena Vista, but who traveled the fateful trail at least part of its winding way. While this is William Catton's first published book, the style is as superb as if it were his father's from start to finish. The volume, moreover, like others of Bruce Catton's, benefits from spadework and synthesis as well as clusters of sparkling phrases and the successful capturing of national and regional moods. Findings of Nichols, Nevins, Craven, Capers, and Milton have logically been tapped. And when one reads that "Kansas bled far more copiously in newsprint than on the ground," it is clear that Malin has not been ignored. Some of the book's few defects are obvious; others are more debatable. Anyone familiar with Davis' career should know that he did not "surpassingly demonstrate . . . qualities of leadership . . . against Black Hawk." The assumption, iterated again and again, that Lincoln "retired" from politics between early 1849 and early 1854 is dubious at best; notwithstanding his statement to that effect, Lincoln was politically more active than average citizens, seeking the Land Office commissionership for himself, recommending friends for political jobs, and taking a far from passive part in the 1852 Scott campaign. The question of morality regarding slavery is discussed in fuzzy fashion. Was slavery immoral? Or was slavery's extension immoral? Sometimes the authors specify one, sometimes the other, but contradictory elements obtrude. There are no notes in *Two Roads to Sumter*; nor is there a bibliography. Generally, however, care has been taken to ensure accuracy, not only precision respecting details but correct summaries of policies and programs and also fairness in interpretation. While I disagree with several assertions concerning Stephen A. Douglas, these are matters of opinion. Like Davis and Lincoln, the "Little Giant" is depicted as a flesh-and-blood human being, with strengths and limitations mirrored. Indeed, such painstaking attention has been given to Douglas' role that the study might have been entitled *Three Roads to Sumter* if artistry had allowed. In sum, this is a highly commendable contribution to American literature and American history.

University of Kentucky

HOLMAN HAMILTON

AMERICAN FEMINISTS. By Robert E. Riegel. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1963. Pp. 223. \$4.50.) In this volume Professor Riegel presents a panoramic survey of many of the women who crusaded in behalf of a more equitable status. For each woman discussed he supplies pertinent biographical data together with an analysis of her ideas and beliefs. Although he devotes entire chapters to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan Brownell Anthony, and Lucy Stone, he gives much shorter accounts of most of the feminists, whom he groups under such headings as "Lady Reformers" and "Professional Women." Riegel states that "feminism, like other reform movements, was favored by both men and women." Yet he omits the role of the male feminists. His justification is that the feminist crusade was usually of major concern to women reformers but of secondary interest to male reformers. I regret this omission and feel that the author thereby lost an opportunity to make a significant contribution to our understanding of American feminism. Riegel's account is primarily a study of the feminists of the nineteenth century. He considers those women the pioneers, crusaders, and philosophers of the movement. In his opinion the twentieth-century feminists were merely organizers and executives who brought to fruition the harvest sowed by their predecessors. He states: "Whereas a Mott or a Stanton had been the propagandist of a small group, and had in many ways broken new ground, a Shaw or Catt was following a well-beaten road and was accompanied by millions of like-minded people." He considers Alice Paul the twentieth-century "successor of the pioneer feminists," especially of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Riegel concludes that "feminism, as it existed during the nineteenth century, has disappeared" and that "any study of the reasons why women now become feminists

has lost all meaning." While one might agree that today's "greatest barriers exist in the minds of men and women rather than in legal enactments," the continued agitation against the legal disabilities of women and the current emphasis on the attainment of "social justice" through political action make one wonder if feminism is as passé as Riegel implies.

Texas Woman's University

A. ELIZABETH TAYLOR

IMMIGRANT CITY: LAWRENCE, MASSACHUSETTS, 1845-1921. By *Donald B. Cole*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1963. Pp. ix, 248. \$6.00.) Lawrence, Massachusetts, has long needed careful treatment by historians, and Mr. Cole's work is a step toward that end. His object is to examine the nature of the great textile strike of 1912, to find out if it was merely the product of "a notorious, poverty-stricken, un-American city." In the process of examination he analyzes much of the history of the city from its founding (in 1845) to 1912, and concludes that the people of Lawrence had in fact found much security, that they were not hopelessly poor nor un-American, that they were indeed quite moderate in their political and economic views, and that "the strike was a paradox. To the unseeing, it revealed an un-American city where security was utterly lacking. To those who knew, it marked the emergence of Lawrence as an American city with all the security that the term American implied." While the study is only of Lawrence—a city that was nearly 90 per cent foreign born, or first generation of native born in 1910—Cole believes that what he says about this city would be true of immigrants and immigrant cities all over the United States, that they were "better off and more easily assimilated than generations of writers would admit." The author has brought forward information of value, particularly in dealing with the immigrant cycle and with the degree to which the various racial groups had adjusted to America and to each other. His restraint in dealing with William M. Wood and the mill management is excellent. He certainly shows that the "scare" pictures of 1912 Lawrence were not true and needed correction. To one who knew Lawrence in 1912 and worked a little later with the people Cole is writing about, the conclusions are interesting and worth further investigation in connection with other cities, but they are not entirely proven. The same evidence that is used here to show that security was found in the home or the group might also suggest a real lack of security and a flight to the ghetto. An average wage of barely eight dollars a week meant even in 1912 a poverty that made Valley Street a name impossible to forget, and the fact that one's son would earn a half dollar more was faint hope. It is quite possible that the textile worker-immigrant of 1912, like the Negro today, was a little better off than he had been, but just a little, and was tired of the treatment. Neither 1912 nor 1921 was a climax in Lawrence's history, and more needs to be written both about Lawrence and about the place of the immigrant in industrial America. What we have here is a useful challenge of what has come to be an accepted picture, but, on the evidence, the immigrant had found little security and not much acceptance fifty years ago.

Dartmouth College

HERBERT W. HILL

NOT WITHOUT HONOR: THE LIFE OF JOHN H. REAGAN. By *Ben H. Procter*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 361. \$6.00.) This is the sixth volume published in the past twenty-five years entitled *Not without Honor*. It is the life and times of John H. Reagan. An earlier one concerned Jesus Christ. The authors were equally uncritical of their heroes. Reagan, Postmaster General of the Confederacy, United States senator from Texas, and the first chairman of the Texas Railroad Commission, is sometimes called the "Old Roman" of Texas politics. Professor Procter nobly attempts to make of Reagan "the noblest Roman of them all." Instead, Reagan

emerges as the noblest Boy Scout of them all: trustworthy, loyal, helpful, friendly, courteous, kind, obedient, cheerful, thrifty, brave, clean, and reverent. Maybe not cheerful, for Reagan seems to have been a somewhat grim and humorless man, certainly a burdensome fact for an admiring biographer. Procter strives to breathe life into the study—days are “blustery,” business “booming,” remarks “caustic,” and tension “mounting”—although at times the attempt at drama becomes melodrama—“when night closed in about him, halting all activity, he was no longer able to control his suppressed thoughts and forebodings, and there in the darkness of his room he wrestled with his fears, wearily seeking relief through sleep.” Few readers will long remain interested in John H. Reagan for his own sake. His personal characteristics were not those of which heroes are made. Stolid, tenacious, honest, dedicated public servant he was; colorful he was not. Readers will rather be interested in new insight that might be gained concerning those periods and events with which Reagan was intimately connected: the United States Congress in the 1850’s, the secession movement in Texas, the Confederate cabinet, the Reconstruction period in Texas, the congressional struggle over railroad regulation, and the early years of the Texas Railroad Commission. And it is here that the reader is most disappointed. Reagan was a busy man; this is a “busy” book. The requirements of a biographical treatment force Procter to cover so much ground that he seldom seems to have the time or space to probe deeply into the many matters he touches. One has the feeling that Procter could do so. The study represents a prodigious quantity of research, and it is reasonable to suppose that lurking in his discarded notes are the answers to many of the intriguing questions his treatment leaves unanswered. Another biography of Reagan is not needed; this one serves and will continue to serve that purpose exceptionally well. But one hopes that specific topics briefly treated here, such as Reagan’s part in the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act, will be more fully explored. Procter is the logical choice for that task.

University of Oregon

ROBERT LEWIS PETERSON

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN WADE: RADICAL REPUBLICAN FROM OHIO. By *H. L. Trefousse*. (New York: Twayne Publishers. 1963. Pp. 404. \$6.50.) Since American historians are clearly in the midst of a major overhaul of Reconstruction scholarship, it is not surprising that we have a new biography of Benjamin Franklin Wade. Professor Trefousse has produced the first life of the Ohio Radical since Albert G. Riddle’s work of 1886. The modern study is, of course, far superior in research in official documents and newspapers, and especially in the manuscripts of Republican and Whig worthies. Yet it remains in essence a nineteenth-century political biography; a generally uncritical depiction of a public man as he chose the world to see him. Wade had been a lawyer in the Western Reserve, then a state legislator and a judge when, in 1851, he was elected to the Senate as an antislavery Whig. He was distinguished in Washington by his truculent opposition to any compromise with the South, his rasping wit, and his clear willingness to meet threats of physical violence with retaliation in kind. During his second Senate term, he became chairman of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War. He pioneered in using committee investigations and reports as propaganda, generally aimed at discrediting generals and politicians (including Abraham Lincoln) who were, in his view, not sufficiently “tough” with rebels, slaveholders, and southerners. (He made no distinction among the three.) In his third term, he was faithful in his support of the most extreme Radical measures of Reconstruction. As president pro tem of the Senate in 1868, he would have succeeded to the White House under then existing law if Johnson had been convicted. Trefousse follows the various phases of this career with diligence and in general with admiration. He respects Wade’s independence and resistance to the seductions of easy popularity. He gives Wade well-deserved credit for a lifelong battle for the rights of Negroes, in Ohio as well as in the South, and in

spite of rather gamy personal prejudices on the senator's part. He contributes to erasing the dying historical distinction between the "aristocratic" Whigs and the "popular" Democrats by showing that Wade, though a Whig, opposed unqualified legal and financial aid to corporations and supported such "Jacksonian" measures as abolition of imprisonment for debt. Lastly, the author documents in depth the suggestion that some Republicans may have voted against the ouster of Johnson simply because they did not want to make the tactless Wade President in his stead. Trefousse, however, tries too hard to excuse Wade's palpable faults of vindictiveness, stubbornness, and stupidity. For these qualities, he would undoubtedly substitute the words "zeal," "rigidity," and "misjudgment." Yet the facts of Wade's McCarthylike committee tactics, to take only one example, are too plain to be overlooked or palliated. Nor did his Reconstruction policies stem from any over-all philosophy of national interest. He seemed to proceed from measure to measure, fueled by one fresh irritation after another. He is not shown in these new pages as a different Wade than, say, George Fort Milton's. He is simply Milton's poison and Trefousse's meat. Without some excursions into interpretation, a Wade biography is not very nourishing. Unless he is weighed, fellow Radicals who are more interesting psychologically (like Stanton, Stevens, and Chase), or intellectually (like Sumner), or as social types (like Butler, of whom Trefousse has done a biography but whom he never thinks, oddly enough, of comparing to Wade); unless he is set firmly in a context, "Bluff Ben," for all his humor, simply does not carry 320 pages of text.

University of Rochester

BERNARD A. WEISBERGER

THE CONFEDERATE CONSTITUTIONS. By *Charles Robert Lee, Jr.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963. Pp. viii, 225. \$6.00.) This compact volume traces the framing and adoption of the provisional and permanent Confederate constitutions by the Montgomery convention and the subsequent ratification of the permanent constitution by the respective states. As the author points out in the preface to this valuable study, "in contrast to the voluminous and detailed treatment of the military aspects of the Confederate States of America, the constitutional history of the nation has been virtually ignored." The present work is a most helpful beginning to an understanding of Confederate constitutional developments. The second chapter, "The Membership of the Montgomery Convention," in which the author, skillfully combining pertinent secondary materials and personal data derived from the manuscript returns of the 1860 federal census, presents both an individual and composite picture of the fifty delegates who not only drafted the Confederate constitutions, but also selected a President and Vice-President, is particularly impressive. Professor Lee concludes that the "two most significant features of the membership . . . were the high degree of political experience and moderate character of the delegates." Although all members except one were slaveholders and thirty-three were planters, the author discounts economic gain as a major motive in drafting the two documents. The actual writing of the constitutions and the heated debates over the documents are competently described, with the author pointing to Barnwell Rhett, Alexander Stephens, and Howell Cobb as exerting "decisive influence." The discussion of the ratification process is less satisfying; Lee tends to minimize too completely the opposition in several state conventions, mainly because of his emphasis upon final vote for passage, which was not always as significant as earlier votes or debates, for the cry for unanimity often resulted in a deceptively heavy majority for final passage. The book contains an extensive bibliography of manuscript and printed materials. However, several works that have appeared in the last three years and that may have produced additional insights do not seem to have been consulted.

Lamar State College of Technology

RALPH A. WOOSTER

THE CIVIL WAR IN NORTH CAROLINA. By *John G. Barrett*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 484. \$10.00.) North Carolinians have long cherished the record of their state's participation in the Civil War and proudly quote their Rebel boast—"First at Bethel, farthest at Gettysburg and Chickamauga, and last at Appomattox." And there was substance to the sentiment. With only one-ninth of the Confederacy's population, the state provided one-sixth of its troops and suffered one-fourth of its battle deaths. North Carolina soldiers and sailors fought on all fronts in the war, but most of them saw service on the Virginia battlefields. Yet military historians, with their attention focused on the larger clashes, have neglected the story of fighting within the state. Professor Barrett's work, a detailed account of Civil War action in North Carolina, may succeed in convincing the reader that the military historians were right all along. From the Battle of Hatteras on the outer banks to the skirmish at Waynesville in the mountains, eleven battles and seventy-three skirmishes occurred in the state; Barrett's book may well be the definitive work on these engagements. It is well written and admirably researched. It is a vast improvement over earlier works such as the antiquated volume in *Confederate Military History*, for the author has exploited the pertinent manuscript collections for their descriptive color. But still it remains the story of the backwash of war in a region primarily important as a reservoir of manpower and supplies and as the last-closed window on the world through the strangling blockade. In 1863 a Raleigh newspaper commented upon the course of the war in the state: "We have had vastly too much strategy, too much science, and too much ditching and digging in North Carolina. Had we less of these and more fighting things might have been different." Perhaps that was an appropriate description of the Civil War in the Tarheel State.

Wake Forest College

DAVID L. SMILEY

THE CIVIL WAR IN LOUISIANA. By *John D. Winters*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 534. \$10.00.) Mr. Winters attempts in a single volume to write the history of the Civil War in Louisiana, a formidable task, for the complexity of the state's society and economy was equaled by the complexity of its war experience. Because Louisiana held the mouth of the Mississippi River and because New Orleans was the largest city and chief port of the Confederacy, Louisiana was a favorite target of Federal military, economic, and political strategy. New Orleans and lower Louisiana fell to Federal military forces in the spring of 1862; for the remainder of the war, the state was divided into Federal Louisiana and Confederate Louisiana, with a shifting no man's land between. Although Winters touches upon all aspects of the war in Louisiana, he deals primarily with the military campaigns, which are described with verve and candor. He wisely does not try to make Louisiana the vital theater of the war, yet he skillfully relates the chief military actions in the state—the siege of Port Hudson in the summer of 1863, and the Red River campaign in the spring of 1864—to the larger strategy of the conflict. He describes these and countless minor actions with a wealth of detail drawn from meticulous research in official records, contemporary accounts, and private papers. Interspersed among the narratives of battles and skirmishes are vivid descriptions of life behind the lines. Winters' exposition of political and administrative affairs lacks the sure touch of his battle accounts. His analysis of the Louisiana Constitution of 1864, for example, is inadequate. His statement, "The efforts to abolish slavery altogether in Louisiana were voted down," is, to say the least, misleading. The Constitution of 1864 abolished slavery in Louisiana. Notwithstanding these flaws, this is a worthy book. It fulfills the need, expressed by Professor T. Harry Williams in the foreword, for a "martial book" on the Civil War in Louisiana.

Tulane University

CHARLES P. ROLAND

THE STONEWALL BRIGADE. By *James I. Robertson, Jr.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 271. \$6.00.) The American Civil War produced many a distinguished fighting unit. Few, however, matched the record of Thomas J. Jackson's Stonewall Brigade. Douglas Southall Freeman called it the southern Cromwell's "Model Brigade." Those who fought in it frequently thought of themselves as "Jackson's foot cavalry." By any name Virginia's First Brigade, drawn from the yeomanry of the Shenandoah Valley, was a formidable fighting force, and it had the scars to prove it. In 39 engagements, under 7 different commanders, its initial strength of 2,600 men was reduced to 210. Believing that the fundamental combat unit of the Confederate Army was the brigade, the author has undertaken an intensive study of the men, organization, and performance of this one. Drawing heavily on the letters and reminiscences of the men in the ranks, Robertson produces a kind of autobiography that traces the rise and fall of morale, describes the changing tactics, and assesses the impact of the Union strategy of attrition which dominated the final years of the war. This is good history. It tells us something significant about a small unit in a very large war. In doing so it tells us much about the larger issues of that war as well as about the men who fought it.

University of Maryland

DAVID S. SPARKS

THE PORT HUDSON CAMPAIGN, 1862-1863. By *Edward Cunningham.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 174. \$5.00.) Following the Federal occupation of New Orleans and Memphis in the spring of 1862, the Confederates had only two primary defenses on the Mississippi: Vicksburg and Port Hudson, Louisiana. Historians and writers have exhausted extant material on the siege of Vicksburg; this volume, written by a history graduate at Louisiana State, is the first thorough and scholarly treatment of the seven-week, heroic struggle for Port Hudson. Most of the material was gleaned from manuscript sources, personal narratives, and unit histories. Notes, bibliography, and index are more than adequate, and the text is a product of careful thought and good writing. The Louisiana Civil War Centennial Commission, continuing its valuable publications program, underwrote the publication of this model campaign history.

George Washington University

JAMES I. ROBERTSON, JR.

THE GILDED AGE: A REAPPRAISAL. Edited by *H. Wayne Morgan.* (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1963. Pp. vii, 286. \$5.50.) It would be difficult to quarrel with the contention of this book that the "Gilded Age" is in need of reappraisal. In these essays, each on a different category of life, ten historians seek to reinstate it. Politics was dramatic and vital rather than dull and lifeless; art and music displayed not a lack of taste but a solid stratum of culture; there were more major writers, thinkers, and scientists and less corruption than hitherto acknowledged; the robber barons not only exploited, but also made "contributions"; labor steadily "advanced." As a whole, so summarizes editor Wayne Morgan, it was a time of prodigious energy, of transition, and, above all, of "progress" in almost all spheres of life and labor. Yet it would be equally difficult to agree that these contentions constitute a significant reappraisal of the post-Civil War decades. For they are concerned primarily with the existence or lack of existence of desirable or undesirable conditions. Why should we devote our energies to revising normative judgments and avoid the more important investigation of the processes of historical change? Both the editor and the essayists rightly imply that this was an age of rapid innovation, in which the new confronted the old. It follows that a satisfactory reappraisal should redefine problems in terms of that basic fact. What were the various facets of these processes, and what questions must be

answered to understand them? But with such fundamental aspects of history the essayists for the most part seem only remotely concerned. Two essays stand as exceptions to this general criticism. One is by Ari Hoogenboom on civil service reform, but more significant is Herbert Gutman's chapter on labor. Gutman develops more explicitly his theory concerning the contrasts in the evolution of social structure in the industrial town and the large city. In the former, nineteenth-century working and middle classes were very close and in strikes joined forces in opposing the intrusion of capital and labor alien to the community. Impersonal social contacts produced no such common front in the large city and thereby enhanced the power of industrial entrepreneurs. Gutman draws attention to the most important single fact of industrialization, the way in which science and technology refashioned the social order, and he makes one of the most important contributions since *Middletown* to an understanding of this problem. This book involves a curious discrepancy between the ideas of the essayists and those of the editor. For the latter, wishing primarily to reverse the value judgments of liberal historians, misstates or ignores significant points in the essays. He even fails to mention Gutman's argument. The book as a single work is, therefore, far less valuable than are several of its individual chapters. A reappraisal of the Gilded Age is still needed; it should rest not on a restatement of old issues, but on a redefinition of problems within the framework of new conceptions concerning the processes of change.

University of Pittsburgh

SAMUEL P. HAYS

THE SALMON KING OF OREGON: R. D. HUME AND THE PACIFIC FISHERIES. By *Gordon B. Dodds*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 257. \$6.00.) The frontier entrepreneur is a shadowy figure, neglected by the historian. Captains of industry have at least had their fables; the Samuel T. Hausers, Verner Z. Reeds, and James Hagermans are only oral folklore. Volatile and voluble, R. D. Hume held tight sway over the economic life of the lower Rogue River Valley, 1876-1908. Innovator in the salmon industry, conservationist, colonizer, politico, and merchandiser, Hume had a career characteristic of the diversified interests of many frontier capitalists. As exploiter, monopolist, and speculator, Hume also possessed antithetical traits as a careful administrator, ardent conservationist, and conservative investor. His chief contributions to the Pacific Northwest are his espousal of fish hatcheries and the economic development of an underdeveloped region. The political phase of Hume's life would have been strengthened if the Harvey Scott manuscripts and the Woodward study of U'ren had been consulted. In the sum, this is a competent monograph, publication of which should result in modest pride and a modicum of embarrassment.

University of Wyoming

GENE M. GRESSLEY

JAMES GIBBONS HUNEKER: CRITIC OF THE SEVEN ARTS. By *Arnold T. Schwab*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 384. \$8.25.) Into this first biography of the man who was perhaps America's most influential critic of the arts the author has poured a prodigious amount of research. He apparently has investigated and verified every possible bit of evidence related to Huneke's life and work. When his energetic labors produced no conclusive answers, he has candidly admitted it. The result is that the reader is presented with a picture of the protean Huneke personality. James Gibbons Huneke (1857-1920) was most important as a music critic, although he rendered valuable services as a commenter on drama, the graphic arts, and literature. His criticism appeared in such publications as the *New York Sun*, *World*, *Musical Courier*, and *Étude*. His volume on Chopin (1900) remains a standard reference. Probably Huneke's greatest significance was that he was the

first American critic to write seriously and discerningly about Richard Strauss, Debussy, Schönberg, Shaw, Ibsen, Strindberg, Matisse, Cézanne, and other creative artists. Huneke was uncommonly perceptive in the diverse arts, and his taste was sound, if a bit exotic. Through his writing he cultivated a genuine popular interest in the arts he described so sympathetically. Huneke as a personality is almost as fascinating as his work was influential. He lived lustily, if not recklessly—introducing wives to sweethearts with apparent abandon. Few, if any, of the literary and artistic set of New York in the two decades around the turn of the century could match his capacity for brilliant conversation or beer. For a generation that has not known Huneke's work, possibly its greatest uniqueness was that H. L. Mencken praised it. Schwab is largely successful in re-creating Huneke's life and establishing his claim to importance. His concern with his subject has led him, however, to overemphasize minor episodes in Huneke's life that add little to the book. For instance, the author indulges in some extensive literary sleuthing about the veracity of Huneke's autobiographical account of a Holy Roller meeting and a banquet orgy. Such excursions, plus the author's excessive use of dashes, are minor detractors from this notable biography.

Washington, D. C.

WALTER RUNDELL, JR.

THE LAST DAYS OF THE SIOUX NATION. By *Robert M. Utley*. [Yale Western Americana Series, Number 3.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 314, 24 plates. \$7.50.) Although the term "ghost dance" does not appear in the title, this work is primarily concerned with that phase of Indian religion, as it became popular during the late 1880's, and the strife that terminated in the battle at Wounded Knee Creek in December 1890. While the promised coming of the Messiah was anticipated by a number of tribes ranging from those in Nevada to the Dakota reservation Indians it was the Sioux who reversed the peaceful aspects of the new creed and stressed violence in their efforts to return to the "old life." Chief Big Foot and his Miniconjou followers, including a large number of women and children, fell in what some have called the "last battle" of the Indian wars. The principal theme of Utley's work concerns the resistance of the once powerful Sioux to the processes of civilization that, in their efforts at Americanization, tore at the very cultural roots of an old and well-organized people. Even though they were held in reservation detention, the Sioux, particularly the older folk, harbored the belief that one day they could return to a more traditional kind of life. As they waited, the superimposition of the white man's ideologies eroded their economic, political, social, and religious structure. Stripped of more material evidences of the old life, they grasped at the promises of the ghost-dance religion and reacted violently when it was ruled out of bounds. Utley's work is based upon a vast amount of printed reminiscence, a wide use of manuscript material at the Nebraska State Historical Society and the National Archives, and extensive government publications. He has developed his story carefully with considerable analysis of the underlying reasons for various actions of both white and Indian elements. It is this inclusion that helps to tone down the dramatics usually found in studies dealing with the Wounded Knee affair and the turmoil that surrounded it. In handling the complexities of troop movements, political and psychological pressures experienced by the army officers involved, fears and trepidations of the Indians, and political overtones, the author has blended many elements into a well-told, easily read account that will be the standard reference for this phase of the Indian "problem" in the years ahead.

University of Colorado

ROBERT G. ATHEARN

THE AGRARIAN MOVEMENT IN ILLINOIS, 1880-1896. By *Roy V. Scott*. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Number 52.] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1962.

Pp. vii, 153. Cloth \$4.00, paper \$3.00.) This is a careful, detailed, and orderly study of farmer organizations in Illinois during a period of widespread agricultural discontent. Perhaps the author is a little too limiting when he asserts that "the phenomenon which urban elements labeled agrarian radicalism was basically an attempt by commercial farmers to use the techniques of business to protect their investment, produce at a profit, and secure a fair share of the consumer dollar," but he does a competent job in analyzing the main features of Illinois agriculture in the period and in indicating the ways in which it differed from that in the areas where the Alliance movement and Populism grew strong. He sketches the rise of George Milton and his work, largely through the *Western Rural*, in creating the National Farmers' Alliance which, in coalition with the other four leading organizations of Illinois farmers (the Patrons of Industry, the Patrons of Husbandry, the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, and the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association) sought to agree upon general objectives and then attain them. It quickly became clear that these objectives could be attained only through political means, and the organizations had neither the singleness of purpose, the numerical strength, nor the political skill and steadfastness required to attain their goal. Perhaps not stressed enough in this study is the point that an enduring common purpose is not easy for farmers to find in a region of rich, diversified farming such as central and northern Illinois.

University of Wisconsin

VERNON CARSTENSEN

THE TOLERANT POPULISTS: KANSAS POPULISM AND NATIVISM. By *Walter T. K. Nugent*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1963. Pp. x, 256. \$6.00.) Through the analysis of Populist and non-Populist newspapers and other primary sources and data on ethnic and voting patterns, the author finds that Populism in Kansas was not nativistic or anti-Semitic. From the evidence, one sees the character of the movement as rational, humane, and democratic. The book, then, serves as a useful corrective to recent interpretations. Its strongest points are in showing that discussions of alien land-ownership were directed not at actual settlers but absentee syndicates; that the use of such symbols as "Shylock" and "Rothschild" referred to international bankers as such, and seldom to Jews; that Populism vigorously opposed the American Protective Association; and, most painstaking to reconstruct, that the foreign born participated in Populism at every level of organization. The author's chief conclusion is that the movement was a political expression founded on very real economic grievances, and, as such, its protest, far from being sidetracked into the search for scapegoats, was programmatic, progressive in orientation, and distinguished between the role of individuals and the economic context itself in creating discontent and hard times. Yet, while the evidence is excellent, the book is not; a brief article, in which the documentation speaks for itself, would have been more effective. It is always difficult to support a negative thesis, and the author does not help matters by straying from the subject. His review of the current dialogue over the nature of Populism reads like a grocery list. He merely quotes both sides, rather than systematically analyzing the underlying issues, or, equally important, explaining why the denigration of Populism occurred in the first place. These chapters, because they are both superficial and pretentious, detract from his own evidence. Further, on the evidence itself, he includes all manner of trivialities; the study degenerates into name dropping when the author includes, as cases of antinativism, the participation in Populism of men born in Canada, men born in the United States but married to immigrants, and, in one instance, a man born in Illinois but who had once studied in Montreal. There are also thumbnail sketches of leading Populists, but they are not related to the issue at hand: nativism. Likewise, political events are not integrated with what should be the book's central

focus. They are treated too sketchily to be of value to the historian and accorded too much space for present purposes. Finally, in a work on nativism, the author introduces a scapegoat of his own, the middle-of-the-road Populists, a term that "more closely represented the gutter than the middle of the road." If there *were* excesses, the radical Populists committed them. The author is unconvincing here, relying not on evidence but on the dubious assumption that to be ideological and idealistic, as opposed to pragmatic, indicates a proneness to authoritarianism. These defects notwithstanding, the author, by presenting important evidence on the grass-roots level, has helped to restore the perspective on the nature of Populism.

Yale University

NORMAN POLLACK

EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION AND REFORM IN THE NEW DEAL: THE GENESIS OF ADMINISTRATIVE MANAGEMENT, 1900-1939. By *Barry Dean Karl*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. xv, 292. \$5.95.) This book should attract students of the presidency and the New Deal, but should appeal even more to those interested in a relatively unexplored topic: the rise of social scientists in American politics. Professor Karl provides a sophisticated, thoughtful treatment of Louis Brownlow, Charles E. Merriam, and Luther H. Gulick and their efforts as the President's Committee on Administrative Management to help Roosevelt reform the executive branch. As a study of the application of science, the book deserves comparison with Samuel P. Hays's work on the conservation movement. While Karl has not explored a major part of the New Deal and reveals few debts to the major center for research on it, the Roosevelt Library, he has demonstrated the significance of his subject by ranging widely and relating the committee's activities to major historical developments. In so doing he contributes more to the literature on the question of the New Deal's relations with the past than to the work on its development after 1932. He shows that the use of social scientists in government and the interest in reforming the executive branch emerged before 1933 and that the committee, while rejecting traditional emphases upon economy as the aim of such reform and demanding innovations to produce a more effective executive, drew upon experiences with executive reorganization in the cities and states and respected democratic traditions. Related to the last point is the author's support for the thesis that Roosevelt, not the intellectuals, dominated the New Deal. He respected them, but respected political realities even more and called upon such men to help him deal with the demands of his situation, an approach these intellectuals could accept. The book has one serious weakness: it is too small for what it attempts. The scope produces problems of organization that are not solved and, combined with the size, prevents the author from supplying enough facts and documentation to support and clarify all of his generalizations.

University of Missouri

RICHARD S. KIRKENDALL

NEVADA'S KEY PITTMAN. By *Fred L. Israel*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 210. \$5.00.) Shortly after Pittman's death in 1940, seeking to check further on silver materials already obtained for a monetary study, I visited Mrs. Pittman, who indicated that she thought Pittman papers were virtually nonexistent and in any case unavailable. Fortunately they emerged in considerable numbers (as papers sometimes do), became available after twenty years, and inspired a Columbia University dissertation. The resulting book aims at, and achieves, a rather devastating portrayal of Pittman by himself. With the barest minimum of author's comment, Israel lets Pittman's letters and other papers demonstrate how he maintained himself as Nevada's lawyer at Washington from 1913 to 1940, one who held that his client was his state, not the nation. Thus the senator's major interests always remained the

price of silver (treated here in much detail), reclamation, and irrigation. Zealously he safeguarded the interests of some 110,000 people against those of some 130,000,000, ensuring his re-elections. Consistently, he who told the 1924 convention that idealism and politics do not mix was reiterating in 1932, "I would rather live and compromise than die for a principle." He was proud to be a "political realist." Since the United States Constitution and Senate rules can combine to put and maintain a senator from a minor state with a state concept of his obligations in a place of national and international power, Pittman could win chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. His "service" from 1933 occupies nearly half of this book, revealing Pittman's principal movements in the "neutrality" maelstrom. There he severely taxed Roosevelt's techniques. Space is lacking for a rounded discussion of the innumerable schisms among senatorial colleagues. Craving recognition as a person, Pittman often failed to win it because of his self-imposed limitations. For substitute comradeship he turned to alcohol as a daily companion. Thus, the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 1933-1940, sat enthroned on that eminence with his bottle during seven long years of national and international travail.

University of Pennsylvania

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

MINISTER OF RELIEF: HARRY HOPKINS AND THE DEPRESSION. By *Searle F. Charles*. (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1963. Pp. xi, 286. \$6.00.) *Minister of Relief*, based on a 1953 doctoral dissertation at the University of Illinois, appraises Harry Hopkins' performance as federal relief administrator in the years 1933-1938. The author is dean of Willimantic State College, Connecticut. The book is almost devoid of biographical data and pays only passing attention to the twenty years of professional experience that prepared Hopkins for and colored his approach to the tasks of organizing and directing FERA, CWA, and WPA. As a study of one segment of Hopkins' career, *Minister of Relief* complements Robert Sherwood's *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, which emphasizes Hopkins' assignments in the period after 1938. As a study of New Deal relief activities, the book supplements, but does not supplant earlier monographs by Josephine Brown, Edward A. Williams, A. W. Macmahon *et al.*, Donald S. Howard, and Harry L. Hopkins. By combining material from published sources and official documents with information obtained from the Hopkins manuscripts and interviews with Hopkins' associates, Charles has accomplished a creditable piece of research on the administrative aspects of Hopkins' work. The book is helpful in clarifying organizational and operational matters and in explaining the day-to-day problems that beset Hopkins and his aids. Unfortunately, Charles slights the policy phases of Hopkins' ministry. He tells us that Hopkins "carried influence with President Roosevelt and provided ideas for New Deal social legislation passed from 1935 on," but fails to explore the nature, extent, and limitation of this influence. Hopkins' part in the drafting of the Social Security Act, for example, certainly deserves more scrutiny than the cursory mention given it on page ninety-one. The chapter on Hopkins' presidential aspirations is similarly inconclusive and unconvincing. In evaluating the relief program, the author methodically reviews criticisms directed at FERA, CWA, and WPA, examines the accomplishments of each agency, and conscientiously seeks to strike a balance between praise and blame. An excellent photograph midway in the volume communicates the wit, compassion, intelligence, and energy that made Hopkins one of the most interesting and glamorous of the New Dealers.

Ohio State University

ROBERT H. BREMNER

THE DYNAMIC NATURAL GAS INDUSTRY: THE DESCRIPTION OF AN AMERICAN INDUSTRY FROM THE HISTORICAL, TECHNICAL, LEGAL, FINANCIAL, AND ECONOMIC STANDPOINTS. By *Alfred M. Leeston et al.*

(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1963. Pp. xviii, 464. \$9.95.) This study is panoramic in nature and actually broader in scope than the title indicates. While America holds the center of interest, the world pierces the scene. To present the comprehensive picture of this "late bloomer" among economic giants in so small a volume is an ambitious undertaking. While the story does draw into focus, and with accuracy, every major aspect of the industry, like most panoramas it suffers from the lack of the third dimension, or depth. The book should appeal to the general reader or to the student interested in, but unfamiliar with, this complex industry which has been characterized by explosive growth in recent decades. The work is basically descriptive with virtually no analytical treatment because the authors "attempt to describe the gas industry as it is, rather than as it ought to be." Seldom is more than one chapter devoted to any phase of the industry, creating the impression that one is actually reading a series of articles. Some sections are beautifully written while others do little more than catalogue data. The treatment of reserves and distribution is well done. But, petrochemicals and public control are very complicated subjects for satisfactory presentation in short discussions. The reader is introduced to some of the technical problems such as theories and equations used in calculating reserves that are so vital to the future of the industry and its further development. Work of the authors appealing to the more serious students of history, resources, and economics are their twenty-two tables and thirty-seven figures depicting all types of data pertinent to the industry and its future. There is also a very extensive bibliography of some twenty-seven pages.

Southern Methodist University

J. S. SPRATT

PRELUDE TO PEARL HARBOR: THE UNITED STATES NAVY AND THE FAR EAST, 1921-1931. By *Gerald E. Wheeler*. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press. [1963.] Pp. xii, 212. \$5.95.) In this compact, concise volume, Professor Wheeler has ably chronicled the unremitting efforts of American naval men to maintain the fighting efficiency of their service in the Pacific during the decade from the Washington Conference to the Manchurian incident. Convinced that Japan was the probable if not the inevitable enemy, these officers struggled against a parsimonious Congress, complacent public opinion, and treaty limitations imposed after two of the three arms conferences. Naval policy was dictated as much by the convenience of the Bureau of the Budget as by the requirements arising from American political and economic commitments in the Far East. Yet the navy's ORANGE Plans never contemplated less than ultimate victory over Japan after the American battle fleet had won control of the Western Pacific. Wheeler believes that American demands for naval equality with Britain were in good part a cover to disguise their real objective, a safe margin of superiority over Japan. For naval strategists, the most disturbing diplomatic limitation was the famous Article XIX of the Five-Power Naval Treaty of 1922 by which the United States abandoned further building up of naval bases and fortifications west of Pearl Harbor. To offset this restriction, they increased the cruising radius of the battle fleet so that it could operate transpacifically from Pearl Harbor, expanded land-based air defense of the Philippines, and opposed any limitation on the great British naval base at Singapore. By 1931 the Philippines, long regarded as the American Achilles' heel, was termed by the Joint Army and Navy Board "a distinct naval asset to the United States." Wheeler's study is a solid contribution to the history of American civil-military relations soundly based on the naval and diplomatic archives, nearly two dozen private manuscript collections, and a variety of printed sources. We now need equally authoritative studies of Japan during the same period to demonstrate how inaccurate the American naval estimates were.

University of Texas

WILLIAM R. BRAISTED

THE FUNDAMENTALIST MOVEMENT. By *Louis Gasper*. (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1962. Pp. viii, 181.) Beginning where older volumes by Norman F. Furniss and Stewart G. Cole leave off, Louis Gasper sets out "to present an objective and definitive account of the developments within the organized fundamentalist movement in American Protestant Christianity since 1930." He emphasizes interdenominational organizations and smaller sects, giving little attention to such major conservative fellowships as the Southern Baptist Convention. A wide variety of topics is dealt with: the fundamentalist heritage, fundamentalist attacks on the National Council of Churches, radio evangelism, Bible institutes and colleges, and the Billy Graham crusades. Gasper believes that religious broadcasting has "conditioned a sizeable proportion of the people in the United States to accept fundamentalism as the normal expression of Protestant doctrine"; he finds that fundamentalists have not been "disorganized and routed" by defeats in recent years as they were in previous generations. The research on which this study rests is too narrow, and the presentation is generally lacking in depth and precision. One reads that during the period between the Civil War and 1900 "two distinct cultures began to clash, the spiritual and the secular"; that "after 1919 the churches began to abandon revivalism and fundamentalist theology"; and that most of Billy Graham's life "was spent in the country under the influence of fundamentalist parents."

Texas Western College

KENNETH K. BAILEY

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1941. In seven volumes. Volume VII, THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS. [Department of State Publication 7447.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1962. Pp. viii, 627. \$3.25.) Volume VI of this series concerns relations with the American republics in general and with Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, and Chile in particular; the present volume concerns the remainder of the republics. The papers demonstrate above all else the complexities and the realities of negotiating with unstable governments for hemisphere defense and, after Pearl Harbor, prosecution of the war against the Axis Powers. Anyone who believes that the Act of Havana marked the beginning of an era of idealistic cooperation among American states determined to preserve their free institutions will find illumination here: Latin American states finding themselves in a favorable bargaining position with the United States made the most of it. An outspoken trading attitude on the part of negotiators, with political kudos their reward for gaining special concessions and political diminishment their penalty for failure, obscured any idealism that might have carried over from the inter-American conferences. Perhaps it is to be expected that such opportunism should emerge most baldly in Panama, where haggling over the lease of defense sites dragged throughout the year. The documents relating to negotiations with Colombia offer an especially good illustration of the difficulties faced by the State Department. As a whole the papers concern these main subjects: military and naval cooperation for hemisphere defense; lend-lease and economic assistance; control of strategic and critical materials; settlement of claims; and trade agreements.

Kent State University

MAURY BAKER

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1942. In seven volumes. Volume VI, THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS. [Department of State Publication 7513.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1963. Pp. ix, 773. \$3.25.) This volume relates to diplomatic papers concerning American republics other than Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil, which a preceding volume (IV) included. The major theme in both volumes is the endeavor of the United States to

secure cooperation in the war effort. The most difficult situation presented in this volume appears to have existed in Chile, where Claude Bowers had to defend United States policy in allocating exports to that country and at the same time persuade Chile to limit exports of strategic materials to other countries; to relate supply of armaments for the protection of Chile's exposed coastline with the severance of relations with Axis Powers; and to apply the black list and gain suppression of espionage without arousing a sensitive public opinion against interventionism. The measure of the man is seen in his handling of the question of gasoline rationing, which was as unpopular in Chile as it was in the United States. The documents relating to Nicaragua include several that help to explain why the United States paid for building the Rama Road. Among other items of special interest are the wool purchase negotiations with Uruguay and the efforts of the Venezuelan government toward a revision of its petroleum policy.

Kent State University

MAURY BAKER

THE U. S. ECONOMY IN THE 1950's: AN ECONOMIC HISTORY. By *Harold G. Vatter*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1963. Pp. xii, 308. Cloth \$5.00, paper \$2.95.) This very able account of the numerous economic changes that occurred in the United States during the relatively abundant 1950's begins with two perceptive and highly informative chapters: the first describes in broad outline the principal characteristics that distinguished the decade; the second summarizes the influence of the depression and New Deal "inheritance" upon the shape and operation of the economy at mid-century. The themes and issues introduced in these two chapters are developed and analyzed fully in subsequent sections, all of which reveal the author's appreciation of the uses and limitations of contemporary economic theory in explaining the recent past. Professor Vatter's major concern in appraising the performance of the "mixed economy" that emerged at this time is "to place the history" of the 1950's "in the long-run context of American economic growth," which he does by centering his attention "on the relative efficacy of the major spending streams as determinants of the rate of economic development." The author's use of growth theory provides him with an effective framework for analysis and assists the reader in understanding the many significant details and statistics that Vatter employs to support and illustrate his conclusions. Because of the care with which he uses his theoretical tools and the wealth of factual material presented (no major sector of the economy is overlooked), this study should provide teachers and students of recent American history with both a comprehensive and analytical review of the economic problems and developments of that "crucial decade." Vatter's evaluation of the workings of the economy is thorough, judicious, and balanced. The important accomplishments—progress in technology and production; the recognition that "the scourge of cyclical mass unemployment could be dispelled by sufficient public spending"; and the realization that the new "publicly underwritten economy afforded business a new measure of market security through the elimination of major depressions"—are carefully discussed and appraised. But when these and the other positive features of that decade are compared with some of its more significant weaknesses, such as the inability to overcome structural unemployment, which the author claims is probably "the most serious element in the legacy of retarded growth handed to the 1960's by the 1950's," the economic record of those years appears less than satisfactory. A large part of Vatter's book is devoted to explaining the reasons for this uneven record.

New York University

VINCENT P. CAROSSO

HISTOIRE DU NOTARIAT CANADIEN, 1621-1960. By *André Vachon*. (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval. 1962. Pp. xxviii, 209.) M. Vachon in this valuable little

book traces the evolution of the notary and his role in society. One of the oldest professions in French-speaking Canada, the notariat is rooted and grounded in French law and custom which, looking askance at instruments "sous seing privé" (the will of Champlain, the father of his country, was invalidated, though witnessed by seven adult males), safeguarded property and the interests of the family by requiring wills, deeds, gifts, sales, mortgages, and, above all, marriage contracts to be drawn by a public notary and preserved by him as public records. The early licensing of notaries by royal authority, their gradual evolution after 1763 into a self-governing profession, assuming, with power, responsibility for discipline and professional standards, the special position of the country notary, "the business uncle of the parish in which the curé was the spiritual father," are all carefully explained. Inevitably Vachon has been compelled to consider political, constitutional, and economic developments, for, as he shows so clearly, the notary cannot be torn bloodless from his sociological context. It is difficult to draw so broad a picture adequately and accurately in a work necessarily concerned with much technical detail. Inevitably there are inaccuracies and faults of imprecision. "[The Quebec Act] annulled the royal proclamation of 1763; . . . it officially suppressed the Test oath; . . . it re-established French civil law"—three serious inaccuracies in one short sentence. Moreover, only by a very curious interpretation of the term can one say that reformers in Lower Canada fought for "responsible government" for forty years. But criticisms of this sort point up the fact that Vachon has courageously refused to confine himself to "petite histoire" and has attempted, with much success, the difficult task of relating the growth of this profession to the long and complex history of the oldest Canadian society.

University of Saskatchewan

H. NEATBY

THE ALIGNMENT OF POLITICAL GROUPS IN CANADA, 1841-1867. By *Paul Cornell*. [Canadian Studies in History and Government, Number 3.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1962. Pp. x, 119. \$4.75.) The writing of political and party history has in recent years been much influenced by the techniques of such historians as Sir Lewis Namier, whose critical examination of the structure of politics in the reign of George III led not only to a departure from the traditional application of the names "Whig" and "Tory" in eighteenth-century England, but also to similar reassessments of such terminology in other periods and other countries. Basic to these studies are such meticulous and time-consuming investigations of votes and voting records as Professor Cornell here provides for the complex years of the Canadian Union. He has compiled and analyzed electoral results and Legislative Assembly votes from the inauguration of the Union to Confederation and has carefully traced the shifting positions of the varying factions of Tories and Reformers. He concludes that, in spite of the appearance of confusion, "there was a large measure of consistency in the political behaviour of most members of the Legislative Assembly, and that political groups did preserve their identity as they faced new situations from year to year." To prove and illustrate his points, the author has provided his readers with the appropriate charts, maps, tables, and statistics. If, as he himself suggests, the result is less a political history than a reference book, a more detailed and more analytical *Coté*, it will still be very useful to students of any phase of the Canadian Union period and indispensable to those concerned with politics and parties. It is to be hoped that this research pattern can be carried through into other periods of Canadian history.

University of Maine

ALICE R. STEWART

THE POLITICS OF JOHN W. DAFOE AND THE FREE PRESS. By *Ramsay Cook*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 305. \$5.95.) Not a long-needed

work, as Dafoe died as recently as 1944, this book certainly is welcome. From 1901 until his death, Dafoe, editor of the Manitoba (since 1931 the Winnipeg) *Free Press*, was the mold of prairie opinion, confidant of political leaders, and a spokesman for Canadian nationalism. The place of Dafoe and the *Free Press* has been recognized from the first, but now we have the record in detail. Canada is poor in histories of the press. Here is a history of a newspaper in its milieu, the history of journalism at its best. One problem that aroused speculation in 1911 and after was the question as to how Dafoe and Sifton, the owner of his paper, were able to work out a system whereby Dafoe could support reciprocity in the *Free Press* when his employer unequivocally opposed it. Professor Cook's explanation, if not cynical, is at least realistic. "Dafoe's task as editor of the newspaper was to represent the Western viewpoint and to protect the valuable business interests of the [newspaper] property." In fairness to Dafoe, it must be added that he did have a predilection for freer trade. The author recognized Dafoe's blind spots, among them his suspicion of French Canadians and failure to recognize their influence in the nation and his frequently taking the position that what was good for the West was good for the nation. Such expressions as "so bitter had Dafoe's partisanship become" and "Dafoe misrepresented the Borden ideal" are marks of the author's critical judgment. All phases of Dafoe's career as an observer, critic, and publicist are well covered. This is not, however, a biography of Dafoe. As the author says, his emphasis has been on politics and especially national politics. He might justifiably have added international affairs. A complete portrait in the future will perhaps indicate more clearly the effect of age on Dafoe. Did old age bring vanity, irascibility, or intolerance which, for example, may have colored his view of Meighen? The author was fortunate that he had not only the file of the *Free Press* but many collections of personal papers that he used well. At the same time he has not overlooked important relevant secondary material.

University of Western Ontario

JAMES J. TALMAN

BERNAL DÍAZ: HISTORIAN OF THE CONQUEST. By *Herbert Cerwin*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 239. \$4.95.) This biography brings together from scattered sources and translates into English what little is known about the author of the classic *True History of the Conquest of New Spain*. The record, despite many gaps, shows clearly that Bernal Díaz del Castillo was no less bold and persistent in seeking rewards from the Spanish crown than he had been earlier while fighting Indians under Cortes. Thanks to these exertions he seems to have lived comfortably from the time he retired to Guatemala in 1541 until he died there in 1584. But his relative ease had been achieved only through constant effort. As an eloquent agent for himself before the Council of the Indies, he "could plead poverty better than any other conqueror." He developed expertise in persuading the authorities to grant Indians to support him; once he even tried to get the Indian defender Bartolomé de Las Casas to lobby on his behalf by offering money for religious robes. Bernal Díaz was probably typical of those Spaniards who, after the glory and the excitement of the conquest had passed, devoted their later years to keeping their nests in the New World properly feathered. Mr. Cerwin makes no new contribution to our knowledge of Bernal Díaz' historical labors and does not cite the detailed studies of the Spanish Jesuit Carmelo Sáenz de Santa María on the complicated story of the various texts. But he enlists the services of a handwriting expert to show that the Guatemala manuscript of the history is not all in the author's own hand. This same expert also believes that the conquistador's signature indicates that he had a "high forehead, rather close-set eyes, a Cyrano de Bergerac nose and an attentive ear," a divination that will probably be no more acceptable to historians than the author's statement that the *History* enables us to

know "exactly how the conquest of a new continent was carried out." The book is somewhat loosely organized and padded with conjectures.

Columbia University

LEWIS HANKE

PLANTATIONS ET ESCLAVES À SAINT-DOMINGUE. by *G. Debien*. [Publications de la Section d'Histoire, Number 3.] (Dakar: Université de Dakar, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines. 1962. Pp. 184.) Written by the premier historian of the old French Caribbean, this excellent book is divided into two independent parts, each treating the story of a sugar plantation of Saint Domingue. Part One, based chiefly on letters from the French proprietors to their agents and friends in the West Indies, is concerned with the Cottineau estate from 1750 to 1778. Part Two, relying on letters from the agents in the island to the owner, presents the record of the complex sugar properties of Stanislas Foäche in the years 1770-1803. In each case the author has had to work without the invaluable help of detailed financial accounts. Both sections center attention on the life and labor of the slaves. Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the first part deals with the alleged poisoning of Negroes by their fellow slaves. Certainly the terrible attrition of the slave population cried for explanation; it is scarcely surprising that contemporaries became almost hysterical in their search for causes of the ruinous losses. The Foäche narrative has the fascination of depicting the life of a plantation against the violent background of the French and Haitian Revolutions. Owing in good part to the steadfast conservatism of the "conducteurs," the black drivers, the estate maintained surprising stability and integrity for years after the outbreak of bloody disorders in the colony. This book will prove indispensable to all historians of plantations and slavery.

University of Texas

J. HARRY BENNETT

JOSÉ MATÍAS DELGADO Y EL MOVIMIENTO INSURGENTE DE 1811. By *Rodolfo Baron Castro*. [Biblioteca José Matías Delgado, Number 3.] (San Salvador: Ministerio de Educación, Dirección General de Publicaciones. 1962. Pp. 239.) This book won a share of the second prize in El Salvador's historical competition celebrating the sesquicentennial of the first movement for Central American independence. In general, it merits its reward. The author has developed Delgado and the uprising against Spanish authority in 1811 simply and predictably. By the time of the hero's birth into a distinguished Creole family, the cleavage between the European-born Spaniard and his American stepchild stirred resentment among the abused Americans. On maturing, Delgado took orders; the Church offered opportunities for advancement, although the European-born Spaniards still took the best places. As the *cura vicario* of San Salvador, Delgado realized for the first time that the interests of the Empire did not always coincide with the needs of the province. A severe earthquake had desolated his intendency in 1776; another shook down the remains of the city in 1798 as Delgado assumed his duties. In both cases money existed in the treasury for relief and reconstruction, but Spanish red tape and unconcern prevented its proper use. Delgado sympathized with his fellow citizens when, after years of pliable rule by Creole interim intendants, the *ayuntamiento* protested the appointment of a new *corregidor intendente* from Spain. Yet these and other irritants could not produce a revolutionary uprising. That opportunity came with the deposition of the Spanish royal family by Napoleon in 1808 and the subsequent attempt of Spanish liberals to create a government less absolute than that of the Bourbons and the sudden heat of Guatemalan politics as the city governments grappled clumsily with unfamiliar politics and elections. Delgado stood for a place in the Spanish Central Junta and accepted his defeat gracefully. He was not a candidate, but he was deeply interested when a subsequent election chose

men to represent the Americans in the Cortes of Cadiz. The Creoles who managed to attend the sessions of that body found themselves relegated to a familiar position of inferiority. They fought back vigorously; their instructions demanded Empire reform, and, according to the author, the word "independence" did not frighten them. The Central Americans knew of the Hidalgo movement in Mexico and the first attempts to revolutionize South America. Smoldering hatred of the *gachupín* finally broke into open rioting in San Salvador when rumors reached the city in November 1811 that the Europeans had arrested a beloved liberal priest and planned the assassination of Father Delgado, rumors true and false respectively. The Creoles of the city took advantage of the mob to depose their *gachupín* intendant and arrest the other prominent European officials. Castro's thesis is that Delgado led the movement and on its ultimate failure managed the capitulation with such tact and skill that the usual bloody reprisals did not occur. The author has presented a good summary of the beginning phase of Central American independence and a less satisfactory account of Delgado's role in it. His sources are excellent, and in the main he has used them well, but his evidence for making Delgado the moving spirit of the 1811 movement seems unnecessarily circumstantial.

University of Houston

JACK A. HADDICK

VERSIÓN FRANCESA DE MÉXICO. Volume I, INFORMES DIPLOMÁTICOS (1853-1858). Translated with an introduction by *Lilia Díaz*. ([México, D. F.:] Colegio de México. 1963. Pp. xi, 471.) As part of the centennial of the French intervention in Mexico several projects have been undertaken, including one to publish, in the Spanish language, a cross section of official dispatches and semiofficial reports of the French ministers, consuls, and commercial agents resident in Mexico in the period 1853-1867, the date of Maximilian's execution. These documents, most of them written to the home government, have been extracted from the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Relations in Paris and are being translated and edited by Lilia Díaz for publication by *El Colegio de México* in a series of volumes entitled *Versión francesa de México*. The initial volume carries the story from the age of reform through the departure of President Ignacio Comonfort. According to the editor these diplomatic agents were capable of reporting in detail on the complicated twists and turns of Mexican politics. From the first they were apprehensive lest governmental instability result in renewed interest on the part of the mercantile class of the United States in occupying part or all of Mexico. For this reason they urged increased French participation in Mexican affairs. Continuing activity of foreign filibusterers such as William Walker in Baja California, uncertainty in Tehuantepec over canal prospects, rebellions in Yucatán, and the machinations of General Santa Anna were among the matters reported on in detail in these documents. This series should serve as a mine of detailed information concerning persons, natives and foreigners, involved in Mexican affairs in the age of reform; the index to the first volume seems to bear this out. It is to be hoped that when the series is completed a more detailed index will be prepared.

University of Georgia

RICHARD K. MURDOCH

THE FRENCH ARMY IN MEXICO, 1861-1867: A STUDY IN MILITARY GOVERNMENT. By *Jack Autrey Dabbs*. [Studies in American History, Number 2.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1963. Pp. 340. Glds. 30.00.) Historians and biographers, attracted by the tragic figure of Maximilian or intrigued by the possible clash between the United States and France, have left unstudied few major aspects of the French intervention in Mexico. Many authors have touched on problems of the French occupation, but none have examined them in any detail. It is this gap that the present volume

attempts to fill. Inevitably considerable attention must be given to relations between the principal French commanders, Forey and Bazaine, and the government. From the first days of the intervention it became clear that Napoleon's objectives were not in harmony with those of the Mexican oligarchy, and the two French created governments were not obedient puppets. Bazaine, the central figure in the adventure, is presented as a competent, faithful officer who made few blunders and emerged with untarnished reputation. Indeed, the reader wonders if the author is not as much interested in Bazaine himself as in military administrative history. The volume is far more than "a case study of the problems facing an army of occupation. . . ." The French army was a fighting force, not one on garrison duty alone, and many of the problems here considered are those that any army on foreign soil is certain to encounter. In his conclusions, the author addresses himself more to the intervention as a military adventure to build an empire than to the lessons learned as an army of occupation. The assumption that Maximilian could have rallied the Indians of Mexico to sustain the Empire is an interesting suggestion but not a valid conclusion. The author has covered the sources well and has made effective use of the Bazaine Archives which form part of the García Collection in the University of Texas. Despite technical inadequacies, the result is a book of prime importance to the student of the French intervention in Mexico.

Miami University

HARRIS GAYLORD WARREN

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Latin America

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AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Program Committee for the Association meeting at the Sheraton Park and Shoreham Hotels, Washington, D. C., December 28-30, 1964, has been announced. Aubrey Land (University of Maryland) is Chairman; other members include Charles J. Bishko (University of Virginia), Alfred D. Chandler (Johns Hopkins University), Kent Roberts Greenfield (Baltimore, Maryland), Harry N. Howard (American University), John Tate Lanning (Duke University), Rayford Logan (Howard University), and Morris L. Radoff (Annapolis, Maryland). Jean Joughin of American University is Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

Mrs. G. Bromley Oxnam has presented the papers of her late husband, the Right Reverend G. Bromley Oxnam, bishop of the Methodist Church, to the Library of Congress. This very full collection (twenty-four cartons) contains materials documenting nearly every period of Bishop Oxnam's long career of religious service. The materials range in time from his early years in the Far East to his final bishopric of the Washington area (1952-1960) and include data relevant to his presidencies of the Federal (now National) Council of Churches (1944-1946) and World Council of Churches (1948-1954). In addition to correspondence, the papers include subject files, scrapbooks, sermons, lectures, speeches, and printed matter. Among the more important documents are a number of carefully kept diaries that have been bound in annual volumes for a quarter of a century.

The Library has received the personal papers of the American physicist, Clinton Joseph Davisson (1881-1958). Davisson, known for his researches in electricity, magnetism, and radiant energy, and as the discoverer, with L. H. Germer, of the diffraction of electrons by crystals (1927), shared the 1937 Nobel Prize in physics with George Paget Thompson. The more than two thousand letters in the collection principally consist of family correspondence for the years 1916-1957 and are largely nonscientific. The interests of the history of science, however, are well served since the greater part of the collection is made up of Davisson's scientific papers, encompassing all his scientific research while he was employed by the Bell Telephone Laboratories (1917-1946). After his retirement in 1946, Davisson taught for two years at the University of Virginia; his lecture notes for that period are preserved in his papers.

Another collection of scientific interest has been presented by Byron Miller, a presidential aid in the administration of Harry S. Truman, who played a prominent role in the area of atomic energy legislation. The collection, although

small, contains folders of correspondence, memoranda, and other papers pertaining to the atomic energy field.

Also received was a first installment of the records of the Book-of-the-Month Club, New York. These records, which include some 3,300 manuscripts, consist of editorial and publishing correspondence for the years 1948-1950.

Several existing collections have been richly augmented by recently received materials. Among these are the James A. Michener Papers, to which Mr. Michener has added more than 3,700 items of correspondence for the years 1961-1962, manuscripts of articles, and other papers. The Library's extensive collection of the papers of Senator Justin Smith Morrill of Vermont, author of the Morrill Tariff Act (1861) and the Land-Grant College Act (1862), has been increased by more than three thousand letters addressed to Senator Morrill from the mid-nineteenth century to his death in 1898. The small collection of the papers of William Dudley Foulke (1848-1935), US Civil Service Commissioner, 1901-1903, and later president of the National Civil Service Reform League from 1923 to 1924, has been augmented by the addition of some 160 letters written over the period 1893-1918. The letters were written by William Howard Taft, Theodore Roosevelt, and members of Roosevelt's family; copies of letters written by Foulke to Roosevelt are also included.

Among interesting single items received is a fifteen-page manuscript in the holograph of Ernest Hemingway. The item consists of an address delivered by Hemingway at the Hollywood home of Mr. and Mrs. Fredric March in July 1937 in connection with a showing of the famous documentary film of the Spanish Civil War, *The Spanish Earth*. Another single item, to be added to the Library's papers of the noted nineteenth-century agnostic lecturer, Robert G. Ingersoll, is a forty-nine-page, 1894 manuscript by Ingersoll, consisting of a series of questions by Louis Ludlow with Ingersoll's answers containing his ideas on religion.

In continuing its program of copying manuscripts abroad, the Manuscript Division has obtained permission from the *Archives Nationales* in Paris to microfilm material relating to America in their collections. At present the Library is copying documents of the *Ministère de la Marine*.

The National Archives has recently published preliminary inventory Number 157, *General Records of the Department of State*, and a catalogue, *Federal Exploration of the American West before 1880*, of an exhibit of maps presented at the annual meeting of the Western History Association in Salt Lake City, October 17-19, 1963.

Among microfilm publications recently completed are the Index to Appellate Case Files of the US Supreme Court, 1792-1909 (20 rolls); Letters of Application and Recommendation during the Administration of James Monroe, 1817-1825 (19 rolls); Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Cuba, 1910-1929 (99 rolls); Letters Sent by the Commissioner of Customs Relating to Smuggling, 1865-1869 (1 roll); Indexes to Letters Received by the Secretary of War, 1861-1870 (14 rolls); Registers of Letters Received by the Secretary of War, Main Series, 1860-1870 (38 rolls); Index to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of West Virginia (13 rolls); Letters Sent by the Secretary of the Navy to the President and

Executive Agencies, 1821-1886 (20 rolls), and to Chiefs of Navy Bureaus, 1842-1886 (3 rolls); Letters Sent by the Surveyor General of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, 1797-1854 (10 rolls); Interior Department Territorial Papers: Alaska, 1869-1910 (17 rolls); and an Index to the Few Surviving Schedules of the Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890 (2 rolls).

Correspondence, plans, and reports relating to the educational courses conducted from 1933 to 1943 by the Workers Service Program of the Works Progress Administration have been given to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library by Miss Hilda Smith, a pioneer in the field of worker education and former director of the program. Additional gifts of papers were received from Mr. David Gray, former minister to Ireland, and from Dr. Henry Field, adviser to President Roosevelt on the resettlement of refugees during World War II. Also received were a number of tape recordings of speeches given by Mrs. Roosevelt and of interviews and press conferences held by her during the last few years of her life. Plans for the erection of two wings to the Library have been announced by the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation. The new wings, to be built as a memorial to Mrs. Roosevelt, will house her collection of personal papers, art objects, photographs, and memorabilia; there will be a small auditorium, an additional museum area, and much-needed additional stack and reading room space.

Recent accessions to the Harry S. Truman Library include records of the Committee for the Marshall Plan, 1947-1951, and papers of Harry J. Anslinger, former US Commissioner of Narcotics, of Robert E. Freer, former member of the Federal Trade Commission, of Lou Holland, an associate of former President Truman, and of Major General Ralph E. Truman, the former President's cousin and commanding general of the Thirty-fifth Division.

On October 15 the House of Representatives passed, by a vote of 157 to 154, H. R. 6237, a bill embodying recommendations made in the National Historical Publications Commission's recent *Report to the President* that the commission be given authority to make grants "to Federal, State, and local agencies and to non-profit organizations and institutions, for the collecting, describing, compiling, and publishing . . . of documentary sources significant to the history of the United States," and that appropriations be authorized not to exceed \$500,000 per annum for that purpose. It is hoped the Senate will also act favorably on this legislation before the end of the current session of Congress.

The Ohio Historical Society has accepted the papers of Warren G. Harding from the Harding Memorial Association. These papers constitute 157 feet of files accumulated during the life of the former President; they will be made available to researchers as soon as possible.

The Wayne State University Labor History Archives acquired the papers of John W. Edelman, former legislative representative of the Textile Workers Union of America, and those of Donald Montgomery, Paul Sifton, and Samuel Jacobs, all legislative representatives in the District of Columbia office of the UAW. They also received the records of the Detroit Newspaper Guild, 1934-1957.

The Library of the DeGolyer Foundation, housed at the Fondren Library, Southern Methodist University, has recently acquired the papers of Samuel

Matthews Vauclain (1856-1940) and John Insley Blair (1802-1899), both important figures in the development of the railroad.

Anyone having material (letters, memoirs, diaries, or other records) on Simeon DeWitt (1756-1834) is requested to get in touch with Van Wie Ingham, Coordinator, The Bicentennial Committee, Winants Hall, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

GRANTS, AWARDS, PRIZES

Historians receiving Guggenheim fellowships for 1963 are: Peter H. Amann, Hugh C. Bailey, Charles A. Barker, John F. Benton, William M. Bowsky, James A. Brundage, R. Ignatius Burns, S. J., Thomas D. Clark, Carl B. Cone, E. James Ferguson, Willard A. Fletcher, Jack D. Forbes, Deno J. Geanakoplos, Walter Grossmann, Nikki R. Keddie, Leo A. Loubère, Malcolm C. McMillan, Mary E. Massey, John H. Mundy, Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., Rafael Olivar-Bertrand, Omeljan Pritsak, Nancy L. Roelker, Charles G. Sellers, Jr., Ihor Ševčenko, Marshall Smelser, Lacey B. Smith, Edouard A. Stackpole, David D. Van Tassel, Eugen J. Weber, David H. Willson, and Robert L. Wolff.

Recipients of recent Rockefeller grants included: John Higham, William R. Louis, Leslie Manigat, and Robert L. Wolff. Princeton University also received a grant to aid assembly of materials for research in diplomatic history through additions to the John Foster Dulles Collection of state and personal papers.

United States scholars who will lecture overseas in 1963-1964 under the Fulbright-Hays Act include: Morton Borden (Spain), Wilfrid Callcott (United Kingdom), Herman J. Deutsch (Austria), Earl Pomeroy (Italy), and Clifton K. Yearley (Italy).

Six scholars selected by the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library to receive grants-in-aid for 1963-1964 are Stephen E. Ambrose, Earle C. Coleman, Nina Edwards, Patrick Hazard, James E. Swain, and Mack Thompson.

The Midwest Research Grant Committee, under the joint auspices of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and the University of Wisconsin, has awarded postdoctoral grants for research in the history of the American Midwest to John Lee Eighmy, Daniel Levine, Morton Rothstein, and Henry G. Waltmann.

The American Association for State and Local History awarded its first one-thousand-dollar manuscript prize to Richard Beale Davis for his book *Intellectual Life in Jefferson's Virginia, 1790-1830*. The association also presented Awards of Distinction for long and exceptional service in the state and local history field to Christopher C. Crittenden and Ernst Posner.

Ann Beck received a grant from the National Institute of General Medical Sciences of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for 1963-1965 for study of the British medical administration of East Africa, 1900-1940.

The Division of the History of Chemistry, American Chemical Society, has given the Dexter Award to Douglas McKie, University College, London.

OTHER HISTORICAL NEWS

Oliver M. Dickerson, who, in 1906, received the first Ph.D. degree in history given by the University of Illinois, has established a fund at that university, the income of which is to be used to help defray the cost of publication of books written by members of the history department or by scholars who received a Ph.D. degree in history there.

RECENT DEATHS

Ralph Betts Flanders of New York University died July 9, 1963, at the age of sixty. Professor Flanders took his B.A. and M.A. degrees at Emory University and his Ph.D. at Duke University. He joined the history department of New York University in 1929 and served continuously until failing health forced retirement in 1962. Flanders was one of the university's very popular teachers. His book, *Plantation Slavery in Georgia* (1933), brought him the (Mrs.) Simon Baruch University Prize of one thousand dollars for distinguished work in southern history. From 1944 to 1946 he served on the executive committee of the Southern Historical Association.

When Charles Seymour died on August 11, at the age of seventy-eight, the world of learning honored a champion of our academic traditions, and the nation lost a historical statesman who had been witness, recorder, scholar, and counselor of our first great World War I plunge into foreign affairs.

A bred-in-the-bone man of Yale, son of a Yale professor, great-nephew and great-great-grandson of former Yale presidents, he received his B.A. in 1908 and his Ph.D. in 1911, becoming Sterling Professor of History, chairman of Yale's history department, provost of the university (1928-1937), and Yale's fifteenth president (1937-1950). As provost to President Angell, he helped revive and organize E. S. Harkness' residential college plan and was appointed first master of Berkeley College. As Angell's successor, his then became the task of holding the university together through the bleak days of the later depression when there was no money, through the fever of World War II when there were virtually no academic students, and the postwar rush back to college, when faculty loyalties were brought into question. Throughout these trials he proclaimed the responsibility of undergraduates to the truth and to their country, emphasized the liberal arts, cherished good teaching, built up the faculty, and defended academic freedom: "We seek the truth and will endure the consequences." There would be "no witch hunts" at Yale.

As a young instructor, Mr. Seymour had the courage to plunge into contemporary history with his notable *The Diplomatic Background of the War* (1916); in 1917 he joined the Inquiry to help prepare for the peace, and in 1919 served as chief of the Austro-Hungarian Division of the American Peace Commission at Versailles. These opportunities brought him into touch with the American President (*Woodrow Wilson and the World War* [1921]), and gave him that feeling for great affairs and that fund of smiling reminiscences of Lloyd George and "The Tiger" Clemenceau with which he would fascinate his undergraduate classes. These experiences also brought him the friendship of Colonel House, with

whom he collaborated on *What Really Happened at Paris* (1921), and whose correspondence and documents he both edited as *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House* (4 vols., 1926–28) and built up into one of the important diplomatic archives of our times. Pro-Ally by conviction but notably clear and moderate in statement, Mr. Seymour also wrote *American Diplomacy during the World War* (1934) and *American Neutrality, 1914–1917* (1935). This past spring he contributed to *American Heritage* an account of the Wilson-House break which Colonel House had confided to him on his deathbed twenty-five years ago.

As an administrator, Seymour was sometimes more indirect than forthright; his appearance too was the image of the urbane and courtly diplomat. Yet by faith and action he stood for the basic loyalties on which our teaching and scholarship depend, and by profession he made himself into the acknowledged and respected authority on Woodrow Wilson and Versailles.

William E. B. Du Bois, one of the founders of the NAACP and former professor of history and economics at Atlanta University, died August 27, at the age of ninety-five.

Conrad H. Lanza of Manchester, New Hampshire, long a member of the Association, died in August 1963.

Ernst Kantorowicz, who was born in Posen (then part of Germany) in 1895, died September 9. After serving in Turkey during the First World War, he took his Ph.D. at Heidelberg in 1921. His remarkable study, *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite* (2 vols., 1927–31) won him a professorship at the University of Frankfurt in 1930. Forced out of Germany by Hitler's repressive legislation in 1934, he spent some difficult years before receiving an appointment as lecturer in the University of California, Berkeley, in 1939. He became a full professor there in 1945 and published his *Laudes Regiae* in 1946. As one who had experienced the oppression of the radical Right, he was a strong opponent of the loyalty oath and left California in 1951 to become professor at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. There he wrote *The King's Two Bodies* (1957) on his favorite topic of "political theology"—the sanctification of the state and its organs. He will be remembered for his vast erudition, his ability to weave literary, artistic, and legal materials into a convincing pattern, his brilliant insights into the nature of medieval political thought, and his kindness and helpfulness to everyone working in his field.

Mary Elizabeth Bohannon, chairman of the department of history and government at Wells College, died September 29, at the age of fifty-eight.

George W. Brown, professor emeritus at the University of Toronto and general editor of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, died October 18, at the age of sixty-nine.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy, thirty-fifth President of the United States, died on November 22, at the age of forty-six. He graduated from Harvard College *cum laude* in the class of 1940. His senior honors essay, a study of the reasons why Great Britain was so ill-prepared for the Second World War, was published later that year under the title *Why England Slept*. He served with distinction in

the navy during the Second World War. He entered the House of Representatives in 1947 from the Eleventh District in Massachusetts, and was elected to the United States Senate in 1952. During his convalescence from a serious illness in 1955, he wrote *Profiles in Courage*, a series of essays on decisive moments in the lives of American political leaders. *Profiles in Courage* won the Pulitzer Prize for biography in 1957. He became President of the United States in 1961.

Though his vocation was public service, he never lost his lively and informed interest in history. He was a life member of the American Historical Association, a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and a contributor to the *American Historical Review*. History and biography constituted his favorite reading, and he kept up on the current historical literature a good deal better than the scholars, including historians, whom he called to Washington to take part in his administration. No President since Wilson had such a disciplined interest in historical studies; and no President since Lincoln made history so organic a part of his political perspective. He saw the world as the historian should see it—not as a warfare between good and evil, but as a complex and obscure interaction of ideas and institutions, in which the statesman's problem was not anathema or annihilation but adjustment and accommodation. His sense of history evidently reinforced his cool detachment in the midst of crisis, as his own instinct for the direction in which history was moving evidently fortified him for the hard decisions of his office. As he said in an address at the University of California on March 23, 1962, "No one who examines the modern world can doubt that the great currents of history are carrying the world away from the monolithic idea toward the pluralistic idea. . . . No one can doubt that the wave of the future is not the conquest of the world by a single dogmatic creed but the liberation of the diverse energies of free nations and free men."

His untimely death was a grievous blow to the nation and the world. It was also a sad loss to the historical profession, not only because of his warm friendship for history and for historians, but because the account he planned to write of his own administration would certainly have been a work of unique value in the annals of our nation.

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mr. A. G. Whiteside in a review of two volumes of my *Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter* (AHR, LXVIII [July 1963], 1048) calls "The value of Kuczynski's impressive economic statistics—really the essence of this work . . . doubtful." Why? For reasons such as this: "The reliability of figures supplied by the East Berlin *Institut für Konjunkturforschung* may also reasonably be held in suspicion." Even if Mr. Whiteside thinks that figures "from the East" may a priori "reasonably" be held in suspicion, is it unreasonable to expect him, sitting in judgment on my statistics, to know that the *Institut für Konjunkturforschung*, which rightly enjoyed world fame and ceased to exist in 1945, was a semiofficial institution of the Weimar Republic? If, furthermore, Mr. Whiteside tells your readers that "Chapter v consists of a discussion of the works of Theodor Fontane, Friedrich Spielhagen, and Max Kretzer as prophets of capitalist impoverishment," may I assure them that not a single sentence connects any one of these writers with either prophecies

or impoverishment. However, I am sure that Mr. Whiteside has read the chapter heading.

Berlin, Germany

JÜRGEN KUCZYNSKI

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

It would be a pleasure to discuss economic and social history with Dr. Kuczynski if he would drop his role of propagandist. The burden of my criticism of his two volumes was that he has not conducted an honest inquiry into the facts and has produced pseudo knowledge designed to buttress a dogma. I regret that I misplaced the time and location of the *Institut für Konjunkturforschung*, but Dr. Kuczynski must admit that this is a very minor point.

A typical instance of what is most objectionable in Dr. Kuczynski's method, which I failed to mention in the review, is his presentation of statistics purporting to show the increasing number of books dealing with "rising poverty" between 1820 and 1839 (Vol. I, p. 148) as factual evidence of impoverishment and of the validity of the Marxist impoverishment doctrine. Such nonevidence offered in the guise of proof is mischievous. On the other hand, he offers impeccable archival sources for such developments as the increase in steam horsepower. The impression created by this technique is of an intention to camouflage Marxist propaganda under cover of scholarship.

Dr. Kuczynski's insinuation that I have not read Volume XIII, Chapter v, is specious, as anyone who reads this section will see. The whole sense of this analysis of three literary works is to show their relevance to his Marxist propositions.

There is certainly a greater need than ever for objective studies of capitalism and for re-evaluating Marxist contributions to economic and social history, but Dr. Kuczynski's work does a great disservice to knowledge. His letter is an attempt to discredit legitimate criticism by what is really a diversion.

Queens College

ANDREW G. WHITESIDE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Men and opinions differ; and when an author submits a book for review by his colleagues, he has no right to complain if someone judges it adversely. But any author of a serious work of scholarship *does* have a right to expect that a reviewer—especially one writing for a journal as influential as the *AHR*—will read the book carefully and represent its content and conclusions accurately, whatever his final view of its merits may be. It is clear, on the basis of his review of my *Public Opinion, Propaganda, and Politics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study of the Jew Bill of 1753* (*AHR*, LXVIII [July 1963], 1117), that Mr. Robert Walcott needs to be reminded of this fundamental professional obligation.

Mr. Walcott cannot have read my book with any decent care, or he would not repeat the old error, that the Jew Bill was introduced at the request of Samson Gideon. In at least three places (pp. 19–20, 110, 185) I refer to the fact that Gideon was actually *opposed* to the bill. The bill was requested by Joseph Salvador (p. 19).

The same unconscionable inattention to the text and plan of the book is manifest in Mr. Walcott's appraisal of my material on English Jewry, which he disparages severely for not breaking new ground. In fact the brief section in question is simply a summary, meant only to set the stage for the politico-religious controversy which is my real subject, and about which I do have new things to say. Nowhere do I state (as the review says I do "expressly") that a study of

English Jewry is "an important theme" of the book. Quite the contrary: on the first page of my preface this material is *expressly* referred to as "basic background information" which readers knowledgeable in Anglo-Jewish history "may well skip over."

Given this shoddy standard of accuracy—and I could point to several examples besides these—perhaps it is just as well that Mr. Walcott did not bother to summarize my principal conclusions. But a conscientious reviewer—again, regardless of whether he agreed with me or not—would have mentioned that I view the clamor of 1753 not as an isolated explosion of anti-Semitism but as a renewal of a long-standing dispute over naturalization policy; that this dispute had, from 1688 on, a decided Whig and Tory aspect; and that these facts have a bearing on the much-agitated question of party in the mid-eighteenth century. From Mr. Walcott's review no one could tell that the book deals with these questions at all.

I suppose (though without "fuller biographical material" one cannot be quite certain) that what got under Mr. Walcott's skin was my limited criticism of Sir Lewis Namier. Mr. G. E. Aylmer, in the course of a completely favorable review of my book, wrote that "Mr. Perry is careful to define his own quite narrow range of disagreement with the late Sir Lewis Namier's interpretation of the period" (*Parliamentary Affairs*, XVI [Winter 1962-63], 101). Mr. Walcott not unexpectedly takes a very different view, as is his right. But with that right go responsibilities about which he would do well to be less cavalier when next he accepts a book for review, and so takes a part of another scholar's reputation into his hands.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

THOMAS W. PERRY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Not surprisingly, J. H. Wuorinen did not find my study of *Three Generations: The Extreme Right Wing in Finnish Politics* (*AHR*, LXVIII [July 1963], 1127) entirely to his liking. The energy of his attack necessitates some response, however brief. A typical statement in the review is that Gustaf Mannerheim, "we are asked to believe, 'remained faithful to the Lapua movement' to the end of his life." The interested reader can refer, as I did, to pages 243-44 of the English-language version of *The Memoirs of Marshal Mannerheim* to ascertain whether I ask him to accept anything on faith alone. The reviewer further states that I give the Academic Karelia Society an importance "no informed student of Finnish politics before 1939 could well ascribe to it." Lest historians think I am a typical (that is, uninformed) political scientist, may I refer (as the reviewer does not) the reader to 1,436 footnotes, mostly to Finnish-language sources. As for my contribution to Finnish studies, the reviewer apparently shares (although from a different perspective) the negative reaction of a lady journalist writing in the most important Finnish Communist newspaper. *Her* periodical, however, does not publish rejoinders.

Boston College

MARVIN RINTALA

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I will limit myself to two comments regarding Dr. Rintala's letter. First, Marshall Mannerheim's contribution to such important aspects of Finland's foreign policy as the Scandinavian orientation commitment recorded in the Parliament resolution of December 5, 1935, and his share in fostering the spirit of amity and conciliation that helped to eliminate the bitterness caused by the 1918 war suffice to show that he was not "faithful" to the Lapua movement (see his *Minnen*, I 381-82, II,

54-56). Second (and with due respect for the extensive documentation of Dr. Rintala's study), I know of no appraisal of the Academic Karelia Society that agrees with the author's claim regarding the society's influence in the field of foreign affairs. Finland's foreign policy, especially after 1932-1935, appears to prove my evaluation quite well enough.

Columbia University

JOHN H. WUORINEN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I regret the error in the last sentence of my review of Morrison, *Josephus Daniels Says . . .* (*AHR*, LXIX [Oct. 1963], 173). Technically, of course, President Wilson, not Secretary Daniels, appointed FDR Assistant Secretary of the Navy in 1913. The selection originated with Daniels, however, and Wilson's role was simply to ratify Daniels' choice.

University of Wisconsin

E. DAVID CRONON

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

On April 12, 1963, the *Times* published a fourth leader that criticized a statement taken from the Fourth Annual Report of the Keeper of Public Records in which it was stated that sixteen classes of documents were being closed for one hundred years. Subsequently I visited the Public Record Office where I received the following information.

By statute, records in the custody of the Public Record Office are not open to public inspection until they are fifty years old. This period of fifty years may be increased or decreased for individual classes by orders of the Lord Chancellor made at the request of or with the agreement of the departments responsible for them and after consultation with the Lord Chancellor's Advisory Council on Public Records.

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Conditional access to closed records may be given to individuals at the discretion of the departments responsible for them, and some modern papers have, in fact, been made available to certain postgraduate scholars willing to work under the variable, but not very onerous restrictions that the departments impose.

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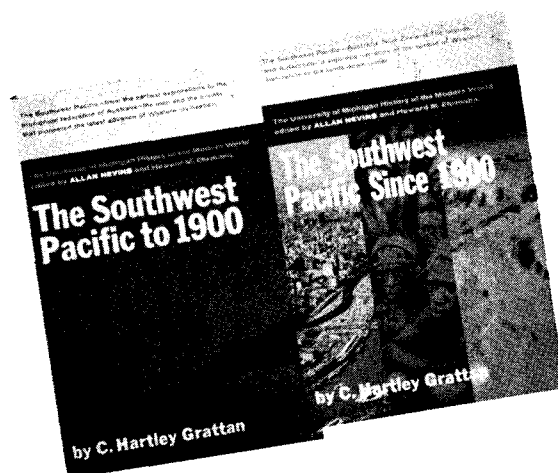
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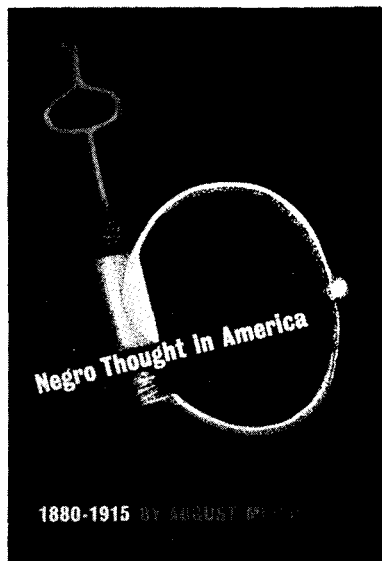
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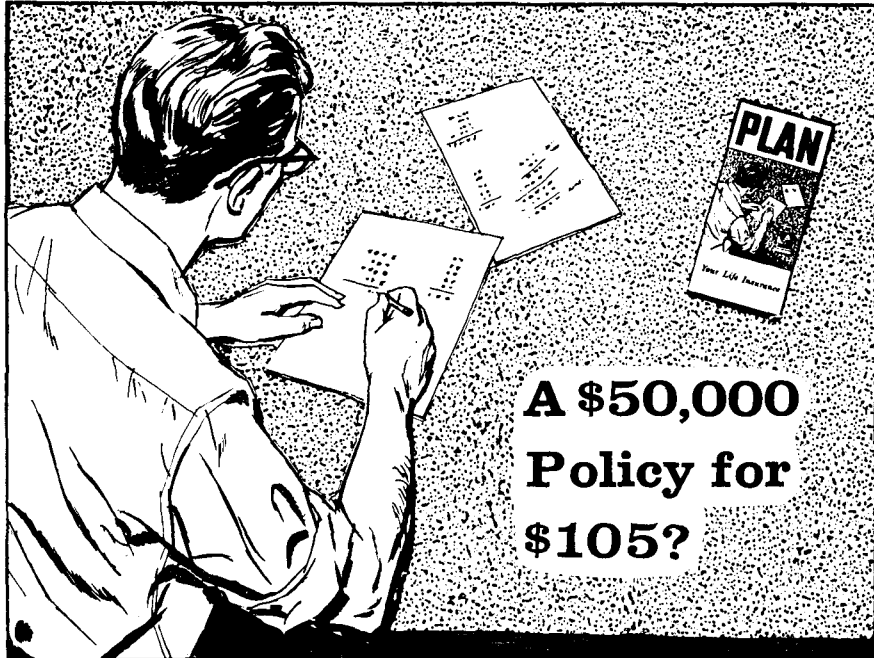
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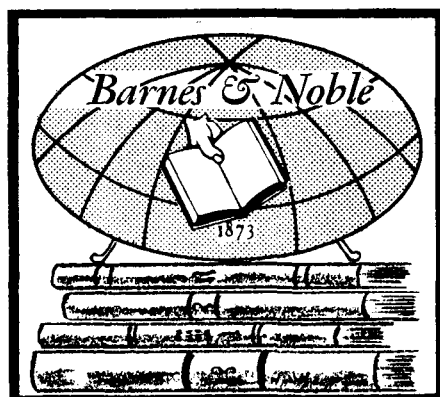
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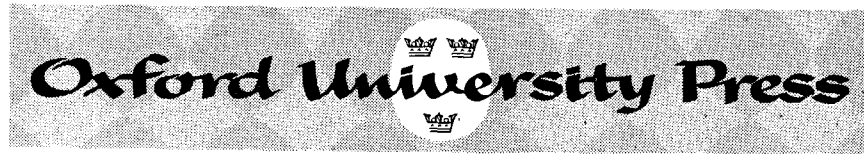
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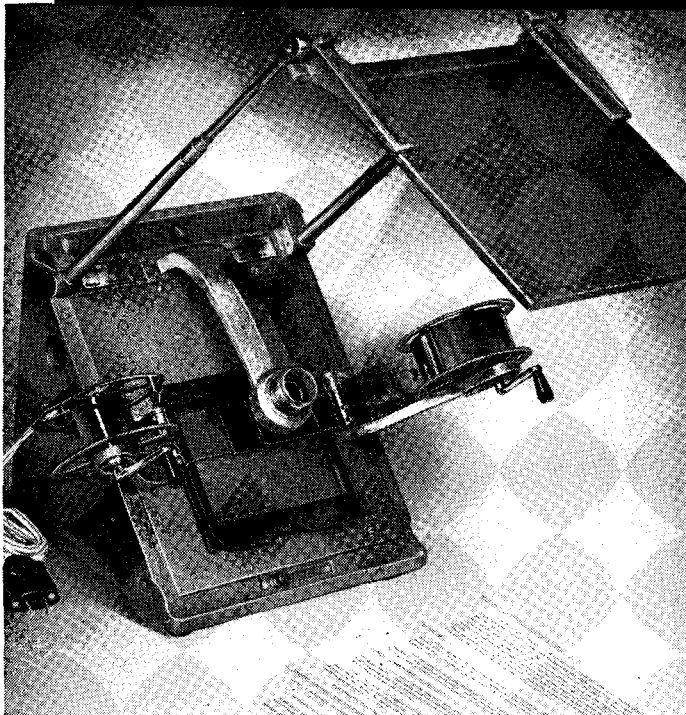
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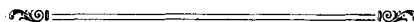
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